

Persian Miniature Painting

AND ITS INFLUENCE ON THE ART OF TURKEY AND INDIA

The British Library Collections

Norah M. Titley

The British Library

Persian Miniature Painting

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Contents

Introduction 7

- 1 Antecedents and invasions 11
 - 2 Development of the Persian miniature in the early fourteenth century 17
 - 3 Fourteenth-century painting at Tabriz and Baghdad – a reflection of the times 26
 - 4 The originality of fourteenth-century Shiraz painting and its influence abroad 35
 - 5 The brilliance of Herat as a centre under the patronage of the descendants of Tīmūr, 1415–1447 44
 - 6 From the death of Shāhrukh to Ismā'il I, 1447–1500 62
 - 7 The early Safavid period, Tabriz and Bukhara 79
 - 8 Shiraz painting in the sixteenth century 92
 - 9 Qazvin, Mashhad and Herat: late sixteenth to early seventeenth century 103
 - 10 Shah 'Abbās the Great and his successors 113
 - 11 Ottoman Turkey 133
 - 12 The Sultanate period of India and the influence of Persian art, fifteenth to mid-sixteenth century 161
 - 13 Mughal India 186
 - 14 Methods and materials 216
 - 15 Literature 251
- Select bibliography 259
- Index of manuscripts by location 262
- General index 267

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Introduction

In 1973, the Department of Oriental Manuscripts and Printed Books, together with the other library departments of the British Museum, became part of the British Library, and the justly-famous illustrated Persian manuscripts were transferred to the British Library collections. Ranking in size and quality with those of the Topkapı Sarayı Museum in Istanbul and the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, the Persian collection is one of the finest in the world representing, as it does, nearly every major and provincial school of Persian painting.

In 1753 a bill was passed in Parliament authorising the purchase of the collections of Sir Hans Sloane, together with the Harleian collection of manuscripts and the Cottonian Library, in order to set up the British Museum. Amongst the Sloane manuscripts was a 16th-century Persian copy of poems, the *Bustān* and *Gulistān* by Sa'di, illustrated with miniatures in the Shiraz style. This manuscript, originally bought by Daniel Walde at Surat in 1704, was the 'founder-member' of the collection of illustrated Persian manuscripts which has since been steadily built up over the years. During the 19th century, when private collections were offered for sale, considerable numbers of Persian manuscripts were bought, others being presented or bequeathed. That there were illustrated manuscripts of the finest quality amongst them was fortuitous as the study of Persian miniature painting was not seriously undertaken until early in the present century. In his four-volume catalogue of the Persian manuscripts which was published between 1879 and 1895, Charles Rieu goes into minute detail concerning the textual content of each manuscript but only briefly mentions, where appropriate, that a manuscript contains miniatures. He usually notes the illustrations as 'being in the Persian style' regardless of quality or provenance but even he waxes almost lyrical when describing the most beautiful and famous work of 1396, the poems of Khvājū Kirmānī (Add. 18113), to the extent of noting that 'it contains nine whole-page miniatures in a highly-finished Persian style' (PLATE 1).

Illustrated Persian manuscripts are still acquired whenever possible, particularly those of special historical interest or containing miniatures in an unusual style. The collection, which includes a wide range of periods and styles of painting, has some treasures *sans pareil*. Owing to the haphazard way in which illustrated Persian manuscripts were acquired in the 19th century when they were going for a song, it is perhaps more remarkable that the collection is so wide-ranging rather than that two very important periods and schools are virtually unrepresented. These gaps are of manuscripts produced between 1306 and 1318 at the academy of Rashīd al-Dīn at

INTRODUCTION

Tabriz and also during the years *circa* 1427-44 when exquisite manuscripts were being prepared at Herat under the patronage of Shāhrukh (d. 1447) and his son Bāysunghur (d. 1433). Efforts to fill these gaps continue but, on the few occasions that manuscripts of such rarity and quality have been offered for sale, the prices have been astronomical. Fortunately it has been possible to acquire some manuscripts of historical and stylistical importance with which to supplement certain aspects of the collection. These include some important 'link' manuscripts which bridge gaps between periods and styles, particularly in the early formative years of the 14th and early 15th centuries when Iran began to settle down after the Mongol invasions. One example is a copy of the fables of *Katīla va Dimna* (Or. 13506), dated 1307, which provides a link between Mesopotamian Arab painting of the 13th century and that of Shiraz, in south-west Iran, of the 14th century. Another, a copy of some of the poems of Nizāmī (Or. 13297) of 1386 and 1388, predated the 1396 Khvājū Kirmānī manuscript by ten years and demonstrated the development of a style which, while retaining certain Chinese and Mongol elements of the early 14th century, pointed the way to the later romantic and truly Persian painting. Yet another comparatively recent acquisition (Or. 13802), which gives both place and date of copying (Herat, 1421), was produced at the time when Bāysunghur was first setting up his academy at Herat. It is illustrated in an elegant style which was to survive the onslaught of the Turkman invaders, occurring again in the 1470s at Shiraz when most manuscripts were then illustrated in the heavy Turkman style.

Besides enabling the study of the development of Persian miniature painting, the collection contains manuscripts which demonstrate the profound effect Persian artists had on Indian illustrative art. It is possible to see the strong Persian elements, both in the manuscripts prepared in the 15th and early 16th centuries under the patronage of the Muslim rulers of the Delhi Sultanate and again, in the late 16th century and after, for the emperors and lesser lights of the Mughal empire. This is also true of Ottoman Turkish miniature painting for, as in India, Persian artists were imported to teach and work alongside indigenous artists. The latter, who were to develop their own distinctive styles over the years, whether in India or Turkey, owed much of their traditions of painting to Iran.

It had long been the hope of the author to mount an exhibition showing where possible, and with the aid of ceramics and metalwork, firstly the antecedents of the style of painting which emerged in the early 14th century with its strong Chinese influence, and then the development of Persian art from the late 14th century through to the end of the 19th century exhibiting the various styles which appeared, and which sometimes fused together to produce others. This formation of styles would have been the main theme with offshoots to demonstrate the influence of Persian artists on those of other countries. These include, in India, the Jain paintings of the 14th century, those of the Sultanate dynasty of the 15th and early 16th centuries, and the entire Mughal period of illustrated manuscripts as well as those of Kashmir. In the same way, the Persian influence on Ottoman Turkish painting can be demonstrated as can the development of the distinctive Turkish styles.

Lack of sufficient gallery space and a crowded exhibition programme has meant

INTRODUCTION

that such a display has not been possible. However, it is hoped that this book, with the aid of numerous colour plates and black and white photographs, can show how the development of Persian painting, and the influence of its artists elsewhere, can be traced through illustrated manuscripts in the British Library collections. All the colour plates are reproductions from manuscripts in the Department of Oriental Manuscripts and Printed Books in the British Library, as are many of the black and white photographs. The latter also include illustrations from other collections, mainly of miniatures in styles not represented in the British Library.

Among the aims of the author has been to introduce less well-known miniatures to those familiar with the subject as well as including examples of the superb paintings for which the British Library collections are renowned, whether originating in Iran, Ottoman Turkey or Muslim India.

Titles of works and names of authors and artists have been transliterated by the same method throughout, with Turkish forms in brackets where appropriate. The word 'Persian', so long used in the context of the miniature painting of Iran, has been retained in order not to cause confusion with pre-Islamic Iranian art.

In conclusion, gratitude is due to all my colleagues in the British Library for their encouragement, advice and practical help over the years. To friends and colleagues in the British Museum and in libraries in Britain and elsewhere in Europe, Turkey, Iran and the United States, whose help and hospitality has been immeasurable, the debt can never be repaid.

Norah M Titley
1983

Antecedents and invasions

From the 14th century Persian painting was primarily the art of the book illustrator. The people of Iran have always been artistic, poetic, nature-loving, romantic and nationalistic and these qualities and characteristics are reflected in both the choice and the portrayal of subjects in the various styles of Persian painting all down the years. Incidents from the poems, epics, romances, histories, fables or moral tales which provided artists with subjects, are portrayed in exquisite detail which, allied with a clarity and quality of colour and an elegance of form, make Persian painting one of the great schools of art. Tranquil gardens and landscapes in spring form the background to poetry readings and story telling or to scenes of out-door entertainment with wine and music. Sumptuous court scenes, love-lorn youths and maidens, chess and polo players contrast with illustrations of feuds and violence in which great kings and heroes, often joined by dragons and demons, are locked in battle.

The tradition of painting and of book production in Iran was so strong that, allied with the inherent resilience and nationalism of the people, foreign invaders, whether Arab, Seljuk, Mongol or Timurid, far from being able to destroy it, eventually adopted it. Cities could be razed, libraries looted and manuscripts burnt by the sackful but somehow the tradition of book production was preserved to re-emerge in strength at the beginning of the 14th century.

The system of patronage and of maintaining academies which produced illustrated manuscripts was a long-standing feature of Iran and continued well into the 19th century. In addition, Iranian artists and craftsmen went far and wide to other countries, either by coercion or persuasion, to teach and to work side by side with their pupils. Persian painting became interwoven with other cultures, both eastern and western, through the centuries. The work of Persian artists and illuminators had a lasting effect on the manuscripts produced from as early as the 15th century, in Sultanate and Mughal India and in Ottoman Turkey, in particular.

In Iran itself, the various invasions had far-reaching effects which were constructive as well as destructive. The resilience of the Iranian character was allied to a lively versatility so that, besides retaining their traditions, the Iranians were able to absorb new elements without losing their own identity. Although they became Muslims after the Islamic invasions of the 7th century, they did not relinquish their own language (Fārsī), which was later to become the court language of India and of Ottoman Turkey. Similarly, after the 13th-century Mongol invasions, Persian art was beset by foreign elements, notably Far Eastern and Central Asian, which it was able to absorb without the loss of existing indigenous traditions.

Because of the waves of destructive invaders which swept over Iran at intervals, there is little evidence of the kind of work produced between AD 800 and 1100. That there was a continuous tradition of art in Iran, going back to the Sasanian period, is evident from features occurring in Persian painting of the 14th century. The period of Sasanian rule, which was one of the greatest in the history of Iran, lasted from AD 212 until the Arab conquest in AD 650. The Muslim conquerors swept over vast territories which adopted Islam and the Arabic script and where, in many areas over the succeeding centuries, a great number of manuscripts were produced in addition to the Qur'ān. Secular works were copied, illustrated and illuminated, each ethnic area retaining its own identity so that, although similar in some respects, Persian, Turkish and Sultanate and Mughal Indian illustrated manuscripts each has its own distinctive characteristics. As various dynasties arose in different countries and conquered their neighbours, they learned to prize the skill of calligraphers, artists, gilders, bookbinders, illuminators and other craftsmen connected with the production of fine manuscripts, and took them to their own territories, either by force or by persuasion, to pass on their knowledge. Thus the Arabs learned from the Byzantines and Copts in the 8th-10th centuries and the Iranians, in addition to the pre-Islamic traditions they were able to retain, were influenced by Arab and Chinese painting, eventually passing on their knowledge and skills to their counterparts in India and Ottoman Turkey.

Faced with the Islamic invasion in the 7th century, Sasanians fled to Turkestan, the region of Central Asia which lies between Mongolia and the Gobi Desert in the east and which extends as far west as the Caspian Sea. Since the end of the 19th century, successive expeditions to Central Asia have brought to light buried cities and much evidence of cultures which were influenced by many different factors. Sculptures, textiles, painted banners and wooden objects (FIG 1), murals and fragments of manuscripts have all been discovered. The preoccupation with royalty is a predominant feature of Sasanian art, whether on sculptures or metalwork, in which the king, a larger figure and on a higher plane than the courtiers who sometimes surround him, is constantly shown whether on a throne or hunting or in battle. Evidence of the influence of Persian art from these early times in Central Asia occurs in a painting, on a wooden votive tablet which is usually referred to as the 'Iranian Bodhisattva'. The figure, wearing high boots and sitting crosslegged, was probably derived from a Sasanian source. The tablet which dates from *circa* 7th century, was discovered at Khotan in Chinese Central Asia (FIG 1)⁽¹⁾. Sasanian influence can also be traced in a similar figure, known as the Saka king (FIG 57), to be seen in illustrations to certain Jain manuscripts of western India from *circa* 1400. In this context, it is probably derived from 13th-century Mesopotamian manuscripts imported into India which, in turn, included frontispiece paintings of kings (FIG 58) which bear a strong resemblance to Sasanian representations.

Excavations some forty miles from Samarkand at the ruined city of Pendjikent revealed murals which are now on exhibition in the Central Asian Galleries in the State Hermitage Museum at Leningrad. Some of the paintings portrayed incidents connected with the epic cycle of stories and legends of Iranian history, and

ANTECEDENTS AND INVASIONS

FIG 1 The 'Iranian Bodhisattva'.
Wooden votive tablet
Dandān Ūlūq, Khotan, circa 7th century.
British Museum, 1907-11-11-71



particularly the national hero Rustam. These tales were gathered in a great epic poem which having been begun by the ill-fated Daqiqi, was completed by Firdawsi in fifty thousand to sixty thousand rhyming couplets in AD 1010 under the title of the *Shāhnāma* or Book of Kings. No patron would consider his library complete without a copy of this national epic and, as a result, manuscripts of the *Shāhnāma*, illustrated in every style of Persian miniature painting, from the 14th century onwards, have survived.

During his expeditions to Central Asia early this century, Sir Aurel Stein discovered Soghdian manuscripts and fragments including part of a tale (British Library Or. 8212 (81)) concerning Rustam who, with his horse Rakhsh, fought an army of demons⁽²⁾. This story, which was not used in the *Shāhnāma* by Firdawsi, appears to have been the subject of one of the Pendjikent wall-paintings. Soghdiana, a province of the Achaemenian Dynasty (a dynasty which came to an end in 330 BC), lay between the Oxus and the Jaxartes, taking in Samarkand on the way, which is the area now known as Uzbekistan. Also called Transoxiana, this territory was designated by the somewhat misleading term Turan in Persian legend. Transoxiana is also known as *mā varā' l-nahr* meaning the land beyond the Oxus and in books on Persian painting published in the Soviet Union, Bukhara miniatures are always referred to by that term.

The Soghdian language and script was widely used in Central Asia and manuscript fragments which were discovered were mainly Christian, Manichaean or Buddhist. Many were found at Turfan in eastern Turkestan which was once a land of cities and monasteries with magnificent libraries. Le Coq, who like Aurel Stein, led expeditions to Central Asia where he discovered Manichaean paintings, was told of a peasant, who coming upon a number of Manichaean manuscripts illustrated with paintings in colours and gold, considered them to be unholy and gathered them up into five cartloads and threw them into the river⁽³⁾.

Mānī, the founder of the Manichaean religion, who was reputedly a very fine artist, used paintings as a means of religious instruction. Manichaeism was considered a heretical religion by Mānī's contemporaries, both Christians and Muslims, Mānī himself being put to death in *circa* AD 277 by the Sasanians. In spite of persecution by Christians, Zoroastrians and Muslims, Manichaeism spread to North Africa and south Europe. Its followers withstood efforts to exterminate it for centuries, continuing to write and illustrate books intended for use in religious teaching. St Augustine wrote, albeit disapprovingly, of their fine manuscripts and it is also recorded that in Baghdad in AD 923 sack-loads of illuminated Manichaean manuscripts were burned and that molten gold and silver from them ran down the gutters of the streets. Anecdotes about Mānī showing him to be an artist beyond compare, and references to him, in the imagery of Persian literature, are numerous, keeping his reputation alive for centuries. Famous Persian artists of the 15th and 16th centuries particularly Bihzād (d. 1525), were constantly compared with him, one of the highest compliments an artist could be paid.

Sasanian elements are discernible in the surviving fragments of Manichaean paintings, both in the ornamentation and in the artistic tradition of kingship. In addition to the book painting fragments and surviving murals, Sasanian metalwork is also an important source for the style of art and for early *Shāhnāma* subjects. Several of the latter which appear on metalwork were constantly featured in *Shāhnāma* manuscript illustrations from the 14th century. Those that occur over and over again on metalwork, such as Bahrām Gūr hunting while Azāda played the harp or the same king seated on his throne, having defeated the lions which guarded the crown, are usually included in the subjects of *Shāhnāma* manuscript illustrations.

Certain elements of Nestorian decorative designs such as an interlace pattern on the narrow border surrounding a miniature or an illuminated '*uncvān*', survived into the 13th century and beyond. Christian Nestorians had a strong tradition of illustrating and illuminating manuscripts and such details of Nestorian design are to be found in Arabic works originating from Syria and Mesopotamia (northern Iraq) in the 13th century.

Iran was again invaded in the late 10th and early 11th centuries by the Seljuks who came from Central Asia and who eventually joined Transoxiana in the east to Mesopotamia (modern Iraq) in the west. By the middle of the 11th century they had made Baghdad their capital from whence they ruled Iran and Iraq, until they, themselves, were conquered by the Mongols in the mid-13th century. Until the emergence of the Safavid dynasty at the beginning of the 16th century, Iran was

constantly under the rule of foreign invaders, and as a result of these repeated invasions there were constant emigrations of nationals and immigrations of foreigners. The borders of Iran were continually changing with Mesopotamia being for a long time part of the Persian cultural area. As the Seljuk empire declined, so there was a revival of the production of native Persian manuscripts, ceramics and metalwork.



FIG. 2. *Varqa and Gulshāh in battle*
Varqa va Gulshāh by 'Ayyuqī. Folio = 27.8 × 21.3 cm. Baghdad, circa 1225.
 Topkapı Sarayı Museum Library, Hazine 841 (202)

The famous manuscript, *Varqa va Gulshāh* (Hazine 674)⁽⁴⁾, in the Topkapı Sarayı Museum Library, is the only surviving illustrated Persian manuscript of this period. This copy of the romantic poem is not dated but was probably produced at Baghdad circa 1225. It contains seventy-one miniatures which are in the narrow 'wall-painting' format (FIG 2) with a plain background of mauve, blue, gold or red, each painting taking up about one-third of the page. The small haloed figures are clothed in large-patterned textiles while birds, animals and plants are used decoratively to form patterns within the paintings. Identical haloed figures occur on contemporary ceramics (FIG 3) and metalwork and, in each, the birds and animals are interwoven into designs with humans. The human figures are short and thickset, the women with their hair in braided pigtails, and the horses, too, are heavily built. Similar figures are to be seen on metalwork produced at Mosul to the north of Baghdad as well as on ceramics (the so-called Minā'i ware) originating at Rayy, a city south of Tehran in modern Iran. The *Varqa va Gulshāh* manuscript of circa 1225, a metal ewer in the British Museum dated 1232 at Mosul, and the ceramics (an early fragment also in the British Museum is dated 1179), to take just three, demonstrate the way in which production of artistic objects extended right across the Seljuk kingdom. The 'wall-painting' format used for miniatures was to disappear in northern Iran in the 14th century in manuscripts produced under the patronage of the successors of the Mongol rulers, but it was still in evidence in the 1330s (FIG 15) in the south at Shiraz. The



FIG 3 Minā'i bowl. Rayy, 13th century. British Museum, 1930-7-19-64

south of Iran was not affected by the new elements brought in by the Mongols in the north until much later in the 14th century. Shiraz artists continued to work in an old-fashioned style, for, although one of the great trade routes of Iran led from Rayy to Isfahan and Shiraz, the ceramics and other merchandise they carried did not introduce new elements. It was not until the second half of the 14th century during the Muzaffarid period of Shiraz that a more elegant and Persianised style of painting was introduced, as can be seen in the miniatures of a *Shāhnāma* (Hazine 1511) in Istanbul, which is dated 1371 (FIG 16).

Although the centres of Mesopotamia were predominantly Arab, the frontispieces of some 13th-century illustrated works were Persian and still displayed the Sasanian preoccupation with kingship. The monarch sits on his throne or his horse high above his subjects (FIG 58) whose squat figures, square faces, haloes, heavily-patterned robes and braided hair are similar to those in the *Vargā va Gulshāh* (FIG 2). Arabic manuscripts such as bestiaries, herbals and medical works translated from Greek texts were illustrated with simple paintings. Arab miniature painting reached its peak at Baghdad before 1258, the year that city fell to the Mongol invaders. Syria and the Mamluk kingdom of Egypt continued as centres for Arab painting until the 14th century. In contrast with Iran where the emergence of autonomous states provided wealthy rulers and governors who were patrons of book production, the absence of such a regime, combined with the disapproval of painting by Islamic teaching, put an end to the illustrating of Arabic manuscripts. In contrast, when Iran settled down after the Mongol invasions, Persian miniature painting went from strength to strength. It absorbed new influences and, in turn, over the centuries, provided the inspiration and major early influence on the development of illustrative painting in Ottoman Turkey and India.

(1) Aurel Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, Oxford, 1907. Vol. 1, pp. 278-80; 299. Vol. II PLATE LXL.

(2) N. Sims-Williams, 'The Sogdian Fragments of the British Library', *Indo-Iranian Journal XVIII* (1976) 56-58.

(3) A. von Le Coq, *Auf Helles Spure in Ost-Turkistan*, Berlin, 1926, p. 44.

(4) A. S. Melikian-Chirvani, 'Le Roman de Varg et Goltāh', *Arts Asiatiques*, Tome XXII, numéro spécial, Paris, 1970.

Development of the Persian miniature in the early fourteenth century

At the *kuriltay* held in 1251, the Mongol leader Mangū was elected as the Great Khan, ruler of the entire Mongol empire. *Kuriltays* were the gatherings held after the death of a Great Khān, when all the Mongols were called together at their capital, Qaraqorum, to create a successor and to settle affairs of state. Descriptions of the splendour and sumptuous nature of these occasions have been provided by foreign envoys and others who happened to be present, such as the Franciscan missionaries who attended the 1246 *kuriltay*. Timūr continued the tradition of his ancestors, and the *kuriltay* held outside Samarkand in 1403 is graphically described in all its splendour by Clavijo⁽¹⁾, envoy of Henry III of Castill.

At the 1251 *kuriltay*, Mangū sent his brothers Kubilāy Khān and Hūlāgū respectively east and west. Kubilāy Khān who, by 1271, had set up the Yüan dynasty in China, reigned for thirty-five years and died at the age of seventy-nine in 1294. Hūlāgū, who was sent to conquer the lands from the Oxus to the borders of Egypt, was instructed to follow the precepts of Chingiz Khān. These were to give reasonable treatment to those who submitted and to exterminate those who resisted. Hūlāgū was appointed to rule as the representative of the Great Khān, and in 1258, after Baghdad had been sacked, looted and burned and the Caliph killed, he returned to the north of Iran where he made his headquarters at Maragha. This city, which had first been taken by the Mongols in 1231, lies some sixty to seventy miles south of Tabriz. Hūlāgū ordered an observatory to be built there from the plans of the great scholar and astronomer, Nāsir al-Dīn Tūsī, who had entered his service in 1257. Because of the good relations between China, ruled by Kubilāy Khān, and Iran, under the sovereignty of his brother Hūlāgū, learned men including astronomers went from China to Maragha. Hūlāgū's successor Abāqā (d. 1281) made Tabriz his capital but Maragha continued to be an important city. Illustrated manuscripts which were produced there in the late 13th century are predominantly in the Mesopotamian Arab style, and it was not until the early 14th century that Chinese artists, imported by Rashid al-Dīn to work at his Tabriz academy, began to influence Persian miniature painting. A Persian translation, dated 865/1286 in the British Library of a treatise on astronomy by the celebrated Arab philosopher, al-Bīrūnī, was probably produced at Maragha. This manuscript (Add. 7697) contains twenty-seven drawings of symbols of constellations and the signs of the zodiac (FIG 4) which appear to be copies of drawings in an earlier illustrated Arabic work. Another manuscript produced at Maragha in the late 13th century, a Persian translation of the Arabic bestiary, *Manāfi' al-Hayawān*, (Pierpont Morgan Library M 500), has miniatures in the early



FIG. 4. Heniochus
Astronomical treatise by al-Bīrūnī. 8.5 × 11.7 cm. Persian, Īlkhānid. Marāgha (?),
1286. Add. 7697 (44a, detail)

style of Baghdad which already display some Far Eastern touches in tree trunks and vegetation.

Hūlāgū's successors in Iran, the rulers of the Īlkhānid dynasty, continued the patronage of men of learning, and Tegüder (d. 1284) was the first to be converted to Islam. His successor (and nephew) Arghūn Khān (d. 1291) was a patron of scientists and alchemists and was also a keen builder, adding a suburb west of Tabriz and also beginning the building of the city of Sultaniyya, north of Qazvin, which was completed by Uljāyṛū. The Īlkhāns reached the peak of their power under Ghāzān (d. 1304) who succeeded in 1295 and took the Muslim name Maḥmūd and the title of Sultan. He ended the allegiance of the Īlkhānid rulers to the Mongol Great Khān and was the first to become an independent ruler in Iran. Ghāzān, who had his capital at Tabriz, was concerned that the history and achievements of his Mongol ancestors should not be lost to posterity, foreseeing that his successors would be absorbed into Iran and thus lose their Mongol identity. He appointed his vizier, Rashīd al-Dīn, as his court historian and ordered him to write a history of the Mongols, copies of which could be made and sent to the various provinces ruled by the Īlkhāns.

Rashīd al-Dīn built a suburb of Tabriz, which was called al-Rashīdiyya, in which his academy of book production was set up to produce copies of the history. He gathered a considerable amount of his information about the Mongols verbally from Ghāzān himself, whose knowledge he extols, and also from the annals of some of the other countries which had been invaded by the Mongols, such as China, India and Turkestan. Ghāzān died in 1304 but his successor, Uljāyṛū, continued the patronage

of Rashīd al-Dīn, allowing him to complete the work begun for Ghāzān and commissioning him to write a general history of the world. This work, which became known as the *Jāmi' al-tavārīkh* (Collection of Histories) included the history of the Iranian dynasties ruling before the Arab invasions, in addition to that of the Prophet Muḥammad and the Caliphate down to the conquest of the Mongols in 1258. Other sections of this remarkable work were concerned with the history of the Turks, the Chinese, the Jews, the Franks and their emperors and popes, of the Indians and Hinduism, of the Buddha and Buddhism and of the post-Islam history of Iran, including the Mongol period.

The work was compiled from all available sources, both written and verbal, and from learned men, of various religions and countries, who were brought to Tabriz. Illustrated Arabic and Persian versions were made of the work, a complete copy in each language every year, and these were presented to the chief towns of the Islamic world. Early 14th-century copies of the *Jāmi' al-tavārīkh* are of inestimable value, both as historical documents and as landmarks in the history of Persian miniature painting (FIG 5). Rashīd al-Dīn was accused of treachery in the reign of Abu Sa'īd and was put to death in 1318. He bequeathed to Rashidiyya a library of some sixty thousand volumes of science, history and poetry but no single complete copy of the *Jāmi' al-tavārīkh* has survived, for Rashidiyya was looted in 1336.

In the 15th century Shāhrukh ordered that any surviving parts of the work should be collected and taken to Herat. Two manuscripts in the Topkapı Sarayı Library (Hazine 1653 and Hazine 1654, the latter dated 1317) with the original text, contain some later miniatures which were added to the blank spaces, some of which are in the Herat style of circa 1432 and painted for Shāhrukh. Shāhrukh commissioned his court historian, Hāfiẓ-i Abru', to bring the history up-to-date and a superbly illustrated and illuminated copy of this extended version, prepared for Shāhrukh himself is also in the Topkapı Sarayı Museum Library (B 282) (FIG 25).

Part of one of the original copies of the *Jāmi' al-tavārīkh* with contemporary paintings, which is dated 706/1306-7, is in Edinburgh University Library.⁽²⁾ The illustrations demonstrate the cosmopolitan nature of miniatures painted in Tabriz at that time, when Christian, Mongol, Mesopotamian, Persian and, above all, Chinese artists were employed by Rashīd al-Dīn. In the miniature (FIG 5), from the section on pre-Islamic Iranian history, Chinese, Mongol and Islamic elements are clearly discernible. The lotus pattern on both the stool and the throne, the dragon decorations, the cloud design on Luhrāsp's robe, the long and carefully-drawn scroll and the features are all Chinese, as is the use of line and of silver. In addition there are Mongol caps and Islamic turbans. In other miniatures the Chinese influence is predominant within landscapes, in trees or plants, mountains or water, both in detail and in the use of silver and muted colours. Chinese influence is probably also predominant in the drawings of elephants in this manuscript in which they have been given four long toes on each foot, a curious lack of observation, or even of correction, by local artists. The Sultan of Delhi presented Ghāzān Khān with an elephant in 1303 which, it is related,⁽³⁾ Ghāzān rode the whole of one day in the public square in Tabriz to the astonishment of the people who had never seen an elephant before.



FIG 5 Accession of Luhrāsp
Jāmi' al-tawārikh by Rashid al-Dīn. Folio = 45.1 × 34.2 cm. Tabriz, Ilkhānīd, 1306-7.
 Edinburgh University Library, Or. M 20

Although Chinese influence is much in evidence in miniatures of Tabriz origin in the early 14th century, the native Persian style is predominant in succeeding decades. There is an interesting manuscript, dated 1314-15, in the India Office Library (MS 132)⁽⁴⁾ which is a collection of poems by six Persian poets. Written in the typical upright *naskh* script of the period, this manuscript found its way to the library of Shah Ismā'il (d. 1524) and may have been one of the manuscripts rescued by Shāhrukh (d. 1447), although it does not bear his seal. The miniatures are in a simple Persian style which must owe its origin to that of illustrated copies of the *Jāmi' al-tawārikh*. The artist was obviously not familiar with Chinese scrolls, as comparison with the Edinburgh miniature of Luhrāsp (FIG 5) demonstrates, for in every miniature in which they appear, he has drawn the scroll in the form of a long 'stocking' with heavy folds (FIG 6). Mesopotamian influences are strongly represented in the India Office Library anthology in the form of the inverted cloud and the rocks built up in sections, in addition to the central, knotted, drapes. The rounded faces have lost their aesthetic far-eastern appearance although some of them are alive with expression. The artist has relieved the monotony of producing a series of similar paintings in which a ruler sits listening to a scroll being read to him, his courtiers in attendance either side of him, by producing a little by-play in several, often in the form of two courtiers holding a private conversation. In one miniature (folio 33a), the ruler, temporarily distracted by the love play of two of his courtiers, has raised his eyes from the scroll to glare jealously at them. The artist, besides being unfamiliar with Chinese scrolls, has confused the Mesopotamian conventions of inverted clouds and central drapes tied in a large knot, and has drawn an outdoor scene in which the inverted cloud has material, tied in a bow, hanging from it. Comparison of this

DEVELOPMENTS IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY



FIG 6 Poet reading to his young patron
Anthology, 8.5 × 18 cm. Ilkhānid, 1314–15. British Library, India Office Library, MS 132



FIG 7 Garshāsp looking at parrots in India
Garshāspnāma by Asadī. Folio = 35.5 × 25.5 cm. Persian, Tabriz (?), 1334.
Topkapı Sarayı, Hazine 674 (27a)

miniature (FIG 6) with the 1306 Rashid al-Dīn Jāmi' *al-tavārīkh* painting of Luhrāsp's accession (FIG 5) demonstrates that the artist must have used just such a composition as a model, without altogether understanding details such as the use of scrolls in the original.

Another manuscript in the 14th-century Tabriz tradition is a copy of the *Garshāspnāma* by Asadī, which is in the Topkapı Sarayı Museum Library (Hazine 674) and is dated 755/1354. The miniature of Garshāsp in India looking at parrots in a tree (FIG 7) includes human figures which bear a striking resemblance to those in the India Office Library anthology (FIG 6), both Garshāsp himself as well as the bearded man standing behind him. This miniature still retains the characteristics of Chinese painting in the form of the trees and the wispy vegetation, seen earlier in the Jāmi' *al-tavārīkh* composition.

Between the early 14th-century Jāmi' *al-tavārīkh* and the 1354 *Garshāspnāma*, can be placed the remarkable, often doom-laden, *Shāhnāma* paintings of circa 1330⁽⁵⁾. It is called the Demotte *Shāhnāma* after the dealer who, being unable to find a buyer, split up the manuscript earlier this century and sold the detached miniatures which are now scattered about in collections, far and wide. It is an indication of the extent of the way in which the successors of the Mongols adopted the Iranian traditions and way of life, that they not only continued the patronage of book production but chose the Iranian national epic to copy and illustrate. Henceforth illustrated manuscripts of the *Shāhnāma* were produced for every patron and library, so that copies in virtually every style and of every century, from the 14th to the 20th, were made. The vitality and enduring qualities of this work are demonstrated by the fact that the same legendary tales of the early kings appeared in wallpaintings, metalwork and sculptures long before the Arab invasions of the 7th century and even longer before Firdawsī completed his poem in AD 1010.

Some of the illustrations in the Demotte *Shāhnāma* retain strong Chinese elements (FIG 8) while others have altered in both character and format from those in the Jāmi' *al-tavārīkh*. The factual treatment of subjects in the Jāmi' *al-tavārīkh*, which is a historical work, has given way to a monumental and heroic style suitable for the subjects of the epic tales it illustrates. The paintings are larger in format, pointing forward towards the full-page illustration of late 14th-century manuscripts and, as Oleg Grabar has pointed out, the preoccupation with subjects such as murders, death and mourning probably reflects the times.

Uljaytū had died in 1317 and was succeeded by Abu Sa'īd (d. 1335) whose reign was notorious for murders and treachery. In his treatise on calligraphers and artists⁽⁶⁾, Dust Muḥammad (himself a noted artist and scribe) wrote that the kind of painting 'known at the present time' (i.e. 1344) was invented during the reign of Abu Sa'īd. That the Chinese influence was still strong is evident in the rocks, twisted tree trunk and bamboo plants in the painting of Iskandar (Alexander the Great) and the talking tree (FIG 8) now in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington D.C. (35.23). The horses in this miniature, with their long necks, are similar to those in the surviving early 14th-century paintings of the Jāmi' *al-tavārīkh*. However, the Demotte *Shāhnāma* painting of the battle between Rostam and Isfandiyār (FIG 9), now in the William Rockhill



FIG. 8 Alexander the Great and the Talking Tree
 'Demotte' *Shāhnāmā*, 26 × 29 cm. Tabriz, circa 1330. Freer Gallery of Art, 35-23



FIG. 9. Combat between Rustam and Isfandiyār
'Demotte' *Shāhnāma*. 16.2 × 28.9 cm. Tabriz, circa 1330. William Rockhill Nelson
Gallery of Art, 33-60

Nelson Gallery of Art (33.60), while it incorporates Chinese clouds and landscape features, includes human figures, those of the contending horsemen, which are far more simple. In fact, they are closely allied to similar figures in another series of *Shāhnāma* paintings, sometimes known as the 'small Tabriz *Shāhnāma*' (FIG 10). These miniatures have proved controversial over the years, having been placed variously at Baghdad,⁽⁷⁾ Tabriz or Shiraz and, perhaps more tentatively, in western India. These small and simple paintings may well belong to the same 'Tabriz' group as those in the India Office Library anthology. Like the latter, they include Mesopotamian details such as heavily patterned robes, large flowers, and rocks built up in layers while the warriors on horseback resemble those in the Demotte painting of the battle between Rustam and Isfandiyār. These small *Shāhnāma* paintings, like those in the anthology, are in a simple almost provincial style compared to the miniatures in the *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh* and the Demotte *Shāhnāma*.

Abu Sa'īd left no heirs when he died in 1335, the year, incidentally, of the birth of Timūr, in whose reign destructive invasions were to prove so devastating in many areas. When the Ilkhānid empire broke up, it became divided under the rule of the independent amirs and governors who were to provide the patrons for book production. The chief of these in the 14th century were the Jalayirids in the north, particularly Sultan Aḥmad (d. 1414), and the Injūs and Muzaffarids in the province of Fars, with its capital at Shiraz, in the south. These rulers were the patrons who were wealthy enough to maintain expensive academies with large staffs of artists,

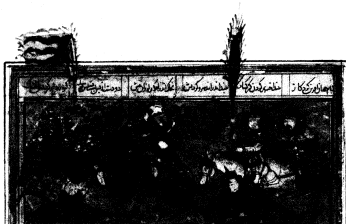


FIG 10 Isfandiār capturing Gurgsar
Shāhnāma, detached miniature. 17 × 13.3 cm. Persian, *circa* 1340. British Museum,
 1948-12-11-022

calligraphers, illuminators, bookbinders and others involved in making books, and were able to afford the materials, such as gold and lapis lazuli, which were used so lavishly in manuscripts, in both the illumination and the miniatures.

Persian painting being primarily that of the book illustrator, with dependence on patronage, its history can be traced down the centuries through the rise and fall of rulers and the consequent migration of artists from one centre to another. Styles of painting were constantly affected by the movement of artists, not only within Iran but beyond its boundaries to Ottoman Turkey and to India. From the early 14th century the main schools of painting in Iran were, successively, at Baghdad, Tabriz, Herat, Tabriz again, Qazvin, Isfahan and Tehran while Shiraz was a notable centre right through to the early 17th century.

- (1) R.C. Markham, *Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo to the court of Timour at Samarcand, AD 1403-6*, London, 1859, pp 136-7.
- (2) D.T. Rice, *The illustrations to the 'World History' of Rashid al-Din*, edited by B. Gray, Edinburgh, 1976.
- (3) H. Howarth, *History of the Mongols*, 4 Vols. 1876-88, Vol. IV (part 3): *The Mongols of Persia*.
- (4) B.W. Robinson, *Persian Paintings in the India Office Library*, 1976, pp. 4-10.
- (5) O. Grabar and S. Blair, *Epic Images and Contemporary History. The illustrations to the Great Mongol Shāhnāma*, Chicago, 1980.
- (6) L. Binyon, J.V.S. Wilkinson & B. Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting*, 1933, pp. 183-188: *Dust Muhammad's Account of Past and Present Painters*.
- (7) M.S. Simpson, *The illustration of an Epic. The Earliest Shāhnāma Manuscripts*, 1979.

Fourteenth-century painting at Tabriz and Baghdad —a reflection of the times

After Abu Sa'īd's death, the succession, which was contested in the north of Iran, eventually led to the emergence of the Jalayirids. This dynasty provided one of the great patrons of the art of the book, Sultan Aḥmad, under whose aegis, in the late 14th century, the truly Persian miniature was first seen. Earlier, in 1356, Sultan Uvays was recognised by the Jalayirids as their ruler in Baghdad. Uvays took Tabriz in 1359 and these two cities were to remain the centres of Persian illustrated book production in the north for nearly all the remaining years of the 14th century.

A group of single detached *Shāhnāma* miniatures which, for their epic treatment of epic subjects, are closely related to the Demotte paintings, are included in albums in the Topkapı Sarayı Library (Hazine 2152 and 2153)⁽¹⁾. These were possibly intended for a *Shāhnāma* commissioned by Uvays in *circa* 1370. As in the Demotte miniatures, the faces are remarkably expressive, the eyebrows, in particular, graphically denoting surprise and distress (FIG 11). The raised eyebrows on the faces of shocked onlookers are quite different from those of the frowning and anguished victims. Some of the faces in a group of three paintings in the Diez albums in Berlin are equally expressive, conveying a feeling of a mood of the deepest depression. These are classed as 'idyllic scenes' by İpşiroğlu⁽²⁾, a description which may be true of the garden landscapes but which belies the tragic appearance of the human characters. The artist of the 'hanging' scene (FIG 11) has also created an atmosphere of tension, premonition of yet worse events to come, perhaps understandable in such a scene, whereas there are no such horrific events in the three Diez paintings (Diez A. 71, Nos. 3, 16 & 38). This dramatic treatment of such subjects is a remarkable development, far-removed from the blandness of expression in Persian painting, both earlier and later. By 1370, pure and brilliant colours were coming into use in compositions, which were developing to emerge as the full-page exquisite paintings which distinguish the 1396 illustrated manuscript of the poems of Khvājū Kirmānī, prepared for that most famous and cultured Jalayirid patron, Sultan Aḥmad (PLATE 1).

Sultan Aḥmad came to power at Tabriz in 1382 and it was his misfortune that the latter part of his reign coincided with the devastating invasions led by Tīmūr (Tamerlane) (d. 1405). The latter entered Iran in 1380-1, subduing Khurasan, Mazandaran and Sistan in the north. He invaded Mazandaran again in 1384, pushing on to Azerbaijan and Georgia and coming back via Shiraz and Isfahan. He subjugated Armenia and Georgia between 1392 and 1396, undertook his Indian campaign in 1398-9, then set out for Ottoman Turkey in 1399, where he won the Battle of Ankara in 1402, capturing Bayazid in the process.



FIG 11 Hanging scene
Album, circa 1370. Topkapı Sarayı, Hazine 2153 (117a)

Sultan Aḥmad, in the face of repeated attacks, was pushed back to Baghdad in 1385. Thenceforth he used both Tabriz and Baghdad as his centres, according to the political state of affairs. Remarkably, in spite of such harassment, this period of the Jalayirid dynasty under Sultan Aḥmad was to be as much a landmark in the history of the development of Persian painting as work done at Rashīd al-Dīn's academy had been in the early 14th century. A poet, calligrapher and artist himself, Sultan Aḥmad maintained a brilliant academy which, at its peak, is represented by the 1396 *Khamṣa* of Khvājū Kirmānī (Add. 18113) in the British Library (PLATE 1) (FIG 12) and the *Divān* of his own poems containing remarkable border paintings which are discussed later (pp. 224–5) and which date from the early 15th century. The British Library has two manuscripts originating from the Baghdad academy of Sultan Aḥmad. The earlier of the two, a *Khamṣa* (Five Poems) by Nizāmī (Or. 13297) (PLATE 2) is dated between 1386 and 1388 and demonstrates an early stage of the Jalayirid style which was to develop into the full-page and exquisite paintings seen in the second manuscript, that of the poems of Khvājū Kirmānī (Add. 18113) which was completed in 1396 (PLATE 1). Comparison of the two miniatures (PLATE 2 and FIG 12) of the same subject, of Sultan Sanjar accosted by the old woman, demonstrates the development of painting at Baghdad under Sultan Aḥmad's patronage. The painting in the 1386–8 *Khamṣa* of Nizāmī (Or. 13297, folio 16a) (PLATE 2) only takes up about half the page and is very simple. The figures are confined to Sultan Sanjar, his page and the old woman set against a desert background. The tree stump on the ridge and the willow are descendants of the Chinese trees which were retained and which occur again in

the 1430s, in Herat painting. The illustration in the 1396 Khvājū Kirmānī manuscript has a far more ambitious landscape, including a greater number of figures and more dramatic setting (FIG 12).

In comparison to earlier 14th-century epic miniatures, the illustrations to the poems of Nizāmī and Khvājū Kirmānī are suited to their gentler, more romantic, subjects. They begin to demonstrate the idealised nature of Persian painting which features the beauty and elegance of humans and animals, jewel-like colours, extensive use of gold and a love of flowers always blooming in gardens, in perpetual spring. By 1396 the paintings in the Khvājū Kirmānī manuscript take up the entire page, often spilling over into the borders, thus lending height and distance to the composition. The text, which previously took up about two-thirds of a page, is now reduced to a couplet or two, enclosed in borders at the top or bottom of a painting, to ally the poem briefly with the miniature. These lovely paintings (PLATE 1 and FIG 12) mark another stage between the Mongol-Chinese influences of the past and the development of Persian art, early in the 15th century, at Shiraz and Herat. It was under the patronage of Sultan Aḥmad that Mir 'Alī Tabrizī perfected the elegant flowing *nasta'liq* script, in which he wrote the poems of Khvājū Kirmānī. This script, the perfect complement to exquisite miniatures, was predominantly used in illustrated Persian manuscripts henceforth.

From the late 14th century, the *Khamṣa* of Nizāmī joined the *Shāhnāma* of Firdawsī as being an illustrated work obligatory to every great library. No manuscript of the *Shāhnāma* from Sultan Aḥmad's library has survived, but evidence that he commissioned one is given by Dust Muḥammad who, in his treatise, relates that artists taken from Tabriz to Herat *circa* 1420, were ordered by their new patron Bāysunghur (d. 1433) to produce a book like the 'War of Sultan Aḥmad of Baghdad'. It can be deduced from this that the 'war' book was a *Shāhnāma*, for the main theme running through that entire work is the war between the Iranians and the Turanians. In spite of the loss of this *Shāhnāma* it is remarkable, not so much that manuscripts have disappeared but that so many have survived, taking into account the centuries of turbulent history during which they were moved about from one centre to another and from country to country. Two other manuscripts surviving from the time of Sultan Aḥmad's patronage are in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. The earlier of the two is a copy of the '*Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt* (Wonders of Creation) dated Baghdad, 1388 (BN Supp. Pers. 332) and the other is a manuscript of the fables of Bidpāy, *Kalīla va Dimna* dated Baghdad, 1392 (BN Supp. Pers. 913). The Khvājū Kirmānī manuscript of 1396 (Add. 18113) is only four years later than the Paris *Kalīla va Dimna* which is still in the comparatively simple style of the British Library's *Khamṣa* of Nizāmī (PLATE 2) and nothing has survived from the interim years to demonstrate the stages by which the splendid full-page Khvājū Kirmānī illustrations were evolved. They are probably all by the artist Junayd of Baghdad, an attribution to whom (and also to Sultan Aḥmad) appears in an inscription on one of the paintings (folio 45b). According to Dust Muḥammad, Junayd was a pupil of the artist Shams al-Dīn who worked under the patronage of Uvays (d. 1374); otherwise nothing is known of Junayd himself.



FIG 12 Sultan Sanjar and the old woman
Khamsa of Khvājū Kirmānī. 26.5 × 18 cm. Persian, Jalayirid style. Baghdad, 1396.
 Add. 18113 (83a)

The poet Khvājū Kirmānī completed writing his poem *Humāy va Humāyūn* at Baghdad in 1331 during the reign of Abu Sa'īd whom he eulogises. The romance concerns the adventures of the Persian prince Humāy and his courtship of the Chinese princess Humāyūn. An eminently suitable poem for the Persian illustrator, the manuscript includes paintings of Humāy's visit to the Chinese court (folio 12a) (PLATE 1) and to Humāyūn's castle (folio 18b), his battle with the princess, unaware of her identity (folio 23a), their courtship in a garden (folio 40b) and, finally, celebration of the consummation of their marriage (folio 45b). These subjects involving court scenes, landscapes full of flowers and trees, magnificent interiors, deeds of daring and scenes of rejoicing, are all dear to the heart of the Persian artist. The third poem, *Rawzat al-anvār*, a Sufi work, includes the anecdote concerning Sultan Sanjar, who, when out riding in his kingdom, was accosted by an old woman who reproached him for the bad behaviour of his soldiers, warning him that if he were unable to control his men, he was not fit or able to rule the country. This tale is also related by Nizāmī in the *Makhzan al-asrār*, the first of his five poems, and is often illustrated. The portrayal of this subject in the 1396 manuscript of Khvājū Kirmānī's poems (Add. 18113) (FIG 12) is particularly vivid as the old woman, waving her arms, startles Sultan Sanjar's horse and causes his young page to look round in astonishment. In comparison to the court scene (PLATE 1), far more of the text appears on this miniature, cutting right across the landscape. An impression of height and distance in the composition is conveyed by a high horizon which is broken by the group of three horsemen and the rocks and stream in the middle distance. The same effect of spaciousness is achieved in the court scene (PLATE 1) by the groups of figures on different levels, from the doorman in the foreground, right across to the women watching from an upper window. The Persian convention which ensures that all action is visible, whether it takes place within the walls of a palace, beneath the ground in a pit or a well or even in a hollow tree trunk, is demonstrated in this brilliant court scene, in which an entire side has been removed from the building to expose the interior. Clavijo, the ambassador of Henry III of Castill who went to Samarkand as an envoy, reaching there in 1403, gives a description of the interior of Tīmūr's house⁽³⁾, situated in the centre of a garden in Samarkand, which might almost have been written about the palace which figures in the painting of Humāy visiting the ruler of China (PLATE 1):

'In the centre of the garden there was a very beautiful house, built in the shape of a cross, and very richly adorned with ornaments. In the middle of it there were three chambers, for placing beds and carpets in, and the walls were covered with glazed tiles. Opposite the entrance, in the largest of the chambers, there was a silver gilt table, as high as a man, and three arms broad, on the top of which there was a bed of silk cloths, embroidered with gold, placed on the top of the other, and here the lord was seated. The walls were hung with rose-coloured silk cloths, ornamented with plates of silver gilt set with emeralds, pearls and other precious stones, tastefully arranged. Above these ornaments there were pieces of silk. . . . In the centre of the house, opposite the door, there were two gold tables each standing on four legs, and the table and legs were all in one. They were each five *palmos* long and three broad;



FIG 13 Nushāba with the portrait of Alexander the Great
Khamsa of Nizāmī. folio = 24.5 × 16.5 cm. Persian. Herat, 1445–6. Topkapı Sarayı,
 Hazine 781 (224b)

and seven golden phials stood upon them, two of which were set with large pearls, emeralds, and turquoises, and each one had a ruby near the mouth. There were also six round golden cups, one of which was set with large round clear pearls inside, and in the centre of it there was a ruby, two fingers broad, and of a brilliant colour.'

This miniature is one of three in the 1396 manuscript which are the prototypes of similar compositions used in Shiraz and Herat manuscripts in the 15th century. Details might vary such as the servants being given wings or a different disposition of windows, less sumptuous surroundings, perhaps, but certain groups in the 1396 miniature such as the central figure being offered wine, the servants gathered round the table in the foreground, the musicians and the small group of figures near the doorman, do not vary from painting to painting⁽⁴⁾. There are several 15th-century Herat manuscripts (FIG 13) which include similar compositions and which point to the

fact that this manuscript of 1396 (Add. 18113) was probably taken from Sultan Ahmad's library in the early 15th century to that of Iskandar Sultan in Shiraz, where artists also made use of the composition, and from whence it was taken, *circa* 1414, to Shāhrukh's library in Herat. The various elements and conventions derived from the East had been assimilated by the end of the 14th century, to the extent that faces were of Chinese appearance and such details as ribbon clouds, mythical beasts, including the dragon and the kilin, and blue and white ceramics became part of the Persian design and remained so throughout the following centuries. In the same year (1381) that Sultan Ahmad was proclaimed ruler, Timūr had begun his invasion of Iran and his advance forced Sultan Ahmad to gravitate between Tabriz and Baghdad before fleeing, first to Turkey and then to Egypt. After the death of Timūr in 1405, Sultan Ahmad regained Baghdad but was captured and executed by the Qarā Qyunlu (Black Sheep Turkmans, so-called from the device on their banner) when trying to regain Tabriz in 1410. Some artists travelled from Sultan Ahmad's academies in the north to work at Shiraz for another noted patron, Iskandar Sultan, a grandson of Timūr. Others remained at Tabriz where they were discovered in 1420 when Bāysunghur was sent there from Herat as governor. The catastrophic Timurid invasions were followed, like those of the Mongols before them, by a period in which the arts flourished. As a result of the Timurid conquests, Iranian lands became united and, in spite of all the massacres and destruction, the residences of the descendants of Timūr, who were governors of provinces of Iran, became noted cultural centres in the 15th century, a period termed 'Timurid' for the purposes of miniature painting.

(1) B. Gray (ed.), *The Arts of the Book in Central Asia*, 1981, p. 99.

(2) M.S. İpsiroğlu, 'Saray-Alben, Diez'sche Klebeblätter aus den Berliner Sammlungen,' *Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, Wiesbaden, 1964, p. 99.

(3) R.C. Markham, *Narrative of the Embassy of Ray Gonzalez de Clavijo to the court of Timur at Samarcand, AD 1403-6*, London, 1859, pp. 136-7.

(4) N.M. Titley, 'Persian miniature painting: The repetition of compositions during the 15th century', *Actes des VII Internationalen Kongresses für Iranische Kunst und Archäologie, München 7-10 September, 1976*, Berlin 1979.

FOURTEENTH CENTURY TABRIZ AND BAGHDAD



PLATE I Humāy at the Chinese court. By Junayd
Khamsa of Khvājū Kirmānī. 28 × 17 cm. Jalayirid style.
 Baghdad, 1396. Add. 18113 (12a)

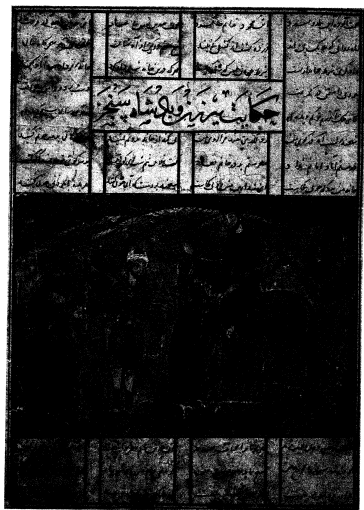


PLATE 2 Sultan Sanjar and the old woman
Khamsa of Nizami. 9.4 × 13.3 cm. Jalayirid style. Baghdad, 1386 and 1388.
 Or. 13297 (16a)

The originality of fourteenth-century Shiraz painting and its influence abroad

Shiraz, in the south of Iran, the capital of Fars from which the Persian language, Fārsī, gained its name, had already been a centre of painting under the patronage of various dynasties from the beginning of the 14th century. The gravitation of artists from Tabriz and Baghdad to work for Iskandar Sultan late in the 14th century was to be expected, as he was one of the great patrons of book production. The styles of Shiraz painting during different periods in its history, from the earliest part of the 14th century to the end of the 16th, are marked by a degree of originality which makes them readily identifiable. The patronage of illustrated books in Shiraz pursued an independent course, regardless of events in the north of Iran and scarcely touched by Far Eastern or Mongol influences, throughout the first half of the 14th century. Shiraz styles of book illustrations ranged from the 'wall-painting' format in manuscripts produced in the 1330s for the Inju dynasty patrons, through the minute and exquisite miniatures of the early 15th century, culminating in the crowded paintings which illustrated the huge works in vogue late in the 16th century. When both government and patronage were centred at Isfahan by 1598 and the Persian painting style of the northern centre of Qazvin gave way to that of Isfahan, the difference between the styles of north and south was very marked. Isfahan artists used fewer but larger figures with muted colours, which included much use of mauve and brown, and calligraphic lines in their paintings. Shiraz miniatures of the same period were so packed with innumerable small and active figures, they would have been appreciated by Brueghel or Lowry. To take just one subject, that of Rustam killing the White Demon, which is illustrated in most copies of the *Shāhnāma*, an Isfahan painting would confine the figures to Rustam, the demon, the horse Rakhsh, and Rustam's guide, Ulād. Shiraz artists, on the other hand, in addition to the main characters, would introduce a plethora of demons peering out from behind rocks, prancing about on the mountain ridge or sitting up in a tree (FIG 42).

The Shiraz style was the main Persian influence on paintings of the Sultanate period of India in the 15th and early 16th centuries, as well as of some Deccani manuscripts of Golconda and Bijapur of *circa* 1575-90. Shiraz had a tradition of producing illustrated manuscripts for commercial purposes and these were imported into Delhi, Malwa, Bengal and the Deccan by the Muslim rulers of the period who followed the tradition of maintaining studios. Shiraz artists themselves were also probably taken to India to teach the local artists and to work on manuscripts. Illustrated Shiraz manuscripts were also taken to Ottoman Turkey in some numbers, both in the late 15th century and in the 16th century as the Istanbul collections

testify. A group of Ottoman illustrated manuscripts on the history of the family of the Prophet and of the martyrdom of Husayn, dating from the late 16th century, shows a strong influence of contemporary Shiraz work.

To trace the history of miniature painting in Shiraz and southern provincial areas of Iran it is necessary, as it was in studying the development of painting in the north, to go back to the late 13th and early 14th centuries. The province of Fars partially escaped the destructive effect of the Mongol invasions although no manuscripts are known to have survived from the 13th century. In the first half of the 14th century, this southern area of Iran remained virtually unaffected by the new elements which were making such an impact on miniature painting in the north, and it was not until the Muzaffarid period of the second half of the century that Shiraz work began to demonstrate new and more sophisticated compositions and use of colour and gold (FIG 16).

A Persian manuscript of *Kalila va Dimna* (Or. 13506)⁽¹⁾, included in the British Library collections, which is dated 707/1307–8, contains miniatures which, although very simple, are a link between earlier Mesopotamian work of the 13th century and that of the Inju Shiraz dynasty of the 1330s. It contains in some of the illustrations Mesopotamian-style rocks seemingly built up in layers, similar to those which occur in the India Office Library *Divân* of 1315, as well as the large-patterned robes of the Mesopotamian style (FIG 58). It has also retained the convention of the full-page double frontispiece of a ruler surrounded by his courtiers, and servants as well as animals which were used by him for hunting, including cheetahs and falcons. In this manuscript, as in others mentioned above, the Sasanian tradition of a king set high on a throne above his subjects is retained. The small paintings share some similarities with the early 13th-century manuscript *Varqa va Gulshâh* (FIG 2), particularly the wall-painting format, plain red backgrounds, braided hair, and thickset figures, and with ceramic designs of the same period (FIG 3). In this manuscript not only are the humans haloed but also all the birds (FIG 14) except for the owl. The owl does not figure as an evil bird in the stories, but more sinned against than sinning particularly in the story of the feud and battles with the crows, though it was apparently not worthy of the distinction of a halo as it is omitted in all the paintings in which the bird appears. Another, earlier, painting which includes haloed birds, red backgrounds and similar figures is the frontispiece to an Arabic manuscript, the *Kitâb al-Daryâq* (Book of Antidotes) by Pseudo-Galen. This work, which is in the Nationalbibliothek in Vienna (A.F. 10) and which is considered to be of mid-13th-century Mosul origin⁽²⁾, is far more ambitious than the *Kalila va Dimna* miniatures. Haloed birds are rarely found either on ceramics or in paintings and do not occur in the *Varqa va Gulshâh* manuscript (FIG 2).

The Mesopotamian style of north Iraq (with Mosul as its chief centre) had close ties with northern Syria, also noted for illustrated book production, in the mid-13th century, at a time when the first Mamluk dynasty ruled Egypt and Syria. The interlacing strap pattern in gold which forms a narrow frame surrounding the 1307 *Kalila va Dimna* miniatures, appears in earlier Mesopotamian and Syrian work as do the inverted clouds which created such a problem for the artist of the India Office

FOURTEENTH CENTURY SHIRAZ AND ITS INFLUENCE

FIG 14 The young lion consulting
(above) his leopard adviser and
(below) his mother. *Katila va Dimna*,
by Abu'l-Ma'ali Nasr Allah.
Each miniature = 5.6 x 5.6 cm. Persian,
1307-8. Or. 13506 (74a)



Library's 1315 *Dīwān* (FIG 6). Difficulties concerned with the recognition and interpretation of earlier Arab miniature details were also suffered by the *Katila va Dimna* artist who rendered a balustrade, such as that seen in Mamluk painting, as a series of coloured and separate balloon-like objects.

The 1307 *Katila va Dimna* manuscript (Or. 13506) precedes the Shiraz Inju style, both chronologically and stylistically, for it includes the small conical hills which were to become such a feature of Shiraz painting under the patronage of the Inju dynasty, particularly in the 1330s. The *Katila va Dimna* also uses the border design round the frontispiece paintings in which lotus petals fan out, left and right, from the centre. This is not a feature of Mesopotamian or Syrian border designs but was used again extensively in the later Shiraz Inju style. In addition to the petal border, the complete lotus flower was included, often filling gaps either side of a heading or in each of the corners of a rectangle drawn round a central circular design (FIG 77). Similar motifs were used in western India, particularly on the boards enclosing loose-leaf Jain manuscripts. By 1307, the southern city of Hormuz was the centre of trade between Iran and the Indian port of Cambay (Gujarat) at a time when patterned textiles and large carpets were among Indian goods imported into Iran and there must have been a steady interchange of designs from one country to another.

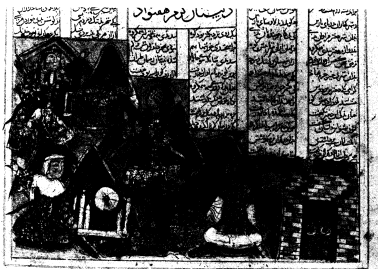


FIG 15 The spinning girl finding a worm in her apple
Shāhnāma, folio = 37.5 × 29 cm. Persian, Inju style. Shiraz, 1330. Topkapı Sarayı,
 Hazine 1479 (180b)

The Inju dynasty ruled in Fars, with its capital at Shiraz, from 703/1303 to 758/1357. Its founder, Sharaf al-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh, was originally sent there by Uljāyṭū to administer the royal estates but by 1325 he had become virtually independent, and, in the true tradition of Muslim rulers in Iran, was a patron of manuscript production. He was executed in 1336 and succeeded by Abū Ishāq. Inju manuscripts, which have survived in some numbers, are dated between 1330 and 1341 and the miniatures and illumination are in a style which is instantly recognisable. The familiar wall-painting format of the miniatures with plain red, blue or yellow backgrounds, the stiff stylised figures and the peculiar cone-shaped hills (FIG 15) are some of the characteristics. Certain Mesopotamian features such as the patterned robes, the balustrades and the large flowers or trees in the background are retained. Other peculiarities, seen earlier and on a much smaller scale in the *Kalīla wa Dimna*, are the conical hills (FIG 15), and carefully drawn brickwork. The pyramidal composition, in which the king or the main character is at the apex with courtiers or those of lesser rank on a lower level, is evident in the miniature of the spinning girls and the worm (FIG 15) from a *Shāhnāma* dated 731/1330–1 in the Topkapı Sarayı (Hazine 1479). In this miniature the girl who found the worm in her apple is given pride of place as she holds it up to show her companions. The balustrade on the building is a Mesopotamian feature, reasonably drawn here, but in the form of coloured 'balloons'

in the earlier *Kalīla va Dimna*. This manuscript is the earliest in a group of Inju manuscripts and its scribe, Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bahmanī, also copied the *Ta'rikh-i Tabarī* in the British Library (Add. 7622) which is dated 734/1333-4⁽³⁾. Although the work by Ṭabarī, a history of the world from the creation to the author's time, (he died 310/922), is not illustrated, it has illuminated headings and title pages almost identical with those in the Topkapı Sarayı *Shāhnāma* (FIG 77). The Ṭabarī manuscript is one of those which was moved to another country for it has a note saying it belonged to 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn 'Alī at Adrianople (Edirne) in 904/1498-9, and it may be that the Topkapı *Shāhnāma* found its way to Turkey during the same period. Other manuscripts in this group are a *Shāhnāma* dated 733/1333 in Leningrad Public Library (Ms. 329), the *Kitāb-i Sa'maq 'Ayyār* in three (undated) volumes in the Bodleian Library (Ouseley 379-81), as well as a dispersed *Shāhnāma* dated 741/1341, from which some miniatures are in the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin (P. 110). This latter manuscript does not give the name of the scribe but it does bear a dedication to Qivām al-Dīn Ḥasan who was vizier to Abu Ishāq. The latter, the last of the Inju dynasty, took possession of Shiraz in 1336 but, although he escaped the siege of Shiraz of 1353, was killed by the Muzaffarids in 1357. The vizier, Qivām al-Dīn, who was one of the patrons of the great Shiraz poet, Ḥāfiz and was eulogised by the latter in his poetry, was himself killed during the siege of Shiraz by the Muzaffarids in 1353.

The old-fashioned Inju style of painting demonstrated the length of time it took for the new influences, which had made such an impact on painting in the north of Iran, to spread further south. Although certain details of clouds or vegetation are slightly Chinese in appearance, this probably came into Inju paintings from imported ceramics while the lotus flowers on textiles and on the illuminated pages probably owe their origin to Indian textile designs. Comparison between the Tabriz Demotte *Shāhnāma* paintings of *circa* 1330 (FIGS 8 & 9) and those of the Inju *Shāhnāma* of similar date (FIG 15) demonstrates the vast difference in degrees of sophistication in painting styles between those of the north at Tabriz and of the south at Shiraz.

The Inju conventions of a red background, strip format and stylised stiff figures in rows ended with the downfall of the dynasty. The flowing lines, high horizons and more open and naturalistic landscapes of Muzaffarid paintings, together with the decorative use of flowering trees, gold skies and mountain ridges that occur within the miniatures, mark the development of the Muzaffarid style and the contrast with its predecessor. The Muzaffarids under Mubārīz al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muẓaffar, having captured Shiraz in 1353 and Isfahan in 1356, remained in power, using both cities as centres, until the dynasty was virtually destroyed by Timūr in 1393. When studying the markedly different Shiraz styles produced under the patronage of the Inju and Muzaffarid rulers, it must be taken into account that Mubārīz al-Dīn occupied Tabriz for two months in 1359, until, learning that Uvays was advancing upon him to regain the city, he fled south again to Isfahan. It is possible that he took manuscripts with him from Tabriz, and artists too, for he was a patron of note and an admirer of fine manuscripts, as was his son, Shah Shuja'. The latter, who succeeded Mubārīz, made Shiraz his centre and continued the patronage of the poet Ḥāfiz

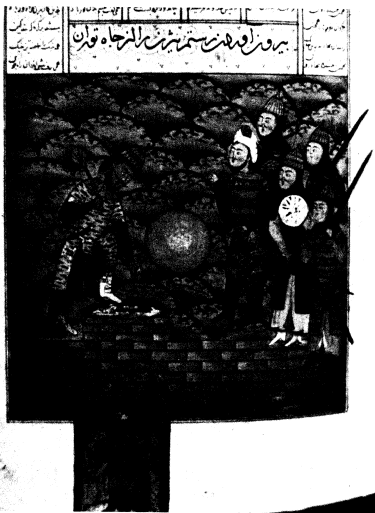


FIG 16 Rustam rescuing Bizhan from the pit
Shāhnāma, folio = 26.2 × 16 cm. Persian, Muzaffarid style, Shiraz, 1371.
 Topkapı Sarayı, Hazine 1511 (1058)



FIG 17 Dragon design on vase
Chinese. Yüan Dynasty, 13th century. British Museum, 1972-6-20-1 (detail)

(d. 1389-90). Hāfiz did not care for Shah Shuja' and, whilst refusing an invitation from Sultan Ahmad to go to Baghdad, he moved to Yazd where he worked under the patronage of the Muzaffarid prince Yahyā.

The miniatures of the Muzaffarid period were no exception to the distinctive styles of painting consistently emanating from Shiraz, and were to stamp their mark, not only on provincial work of southern Iran during the first half of the 15th century, but also on that of Sultanate India. The characteristic which typifies the Muzaffarid style, perhaps above all others, is the peculiar human head, completely oval like an egg (FIG 16). Eyes are rolled into the corners, and the face is set askew on a long neck beneath a slightly crooked and high turban. A long moustache runs above the top lip, while a tuft of hair below the lower lip stretches into a beard running round the jawline from ear to ear. The true Muzaffarid style, as seen in a *Shāhnāma* dated 1371 (Topkapı Sarayı Hazine 1511) (FIG 16), combines the human figures, elegant in form in spite of their peculiarities, with romanticised and beautiful landscapes in which high rounded hills streaked with gold form the background. The delicacy of these paintings is in total contrast to the heavy, almost ugly, Inju compositions. A glorious blue and gold dragon stretches across the whole painting in one miniature from this manuscript (reproduced in Basil Gray's *Persian Painting*, page 63), with ribbons which end in flames flowing from its shoulder and flank. It is a different creature altogether from the thick black dragons of the Inju style, and must surely originate from a Chinese dragon such as those which appear on Yüan ceramics (FIG 17), demonstrating that the Far Eastern influence in Persian painting had, by 1371, spread south. Another copy of the *Shāhnāma* in the Muzaffarid style, dated 1393, is in the National Library at Cairo⁽⁴⁾ and was completed the same year that Tīmūr conquered the Muzaffarids, while there is an undated copy of the *Khamsa* of Amīr Khusrāw in the Abu Rayhān Birūnī Institute at Tashkent (MS 3317 C.O.M. II, 1012)⁽⁵⁾.



FIG 18. Nawfāl visiting Majnūn in the desert. *Khamṣa* of Nizāmī. Persian, south provincial style. MS = 1318, miniatures added *circa* 1380. Tehran University Central Library, MS. 5179

It would appear that manuscripts were also produced under the patronage of officials of lower rank than the governors or rulers in the south of Iran at this time, for an interesting manuscript of the *Khamṣa* of Nizāmī in Tehran University Central Library (MS 5179), although illustrated by very simple compositions, contains miniatures which certainly include Muzaffarid characteristics. The text is dated 718/1318 but the miniatures appear to have been added considerably later, possibly *circa* 1380. They retain 13th-century Mamluk characteristics of architecture (FIG 61) and tents and, as pointed out in the discussion on Persian influence on Indian Sultanate painting, may well be akin to Shiraz miniatures which were the inspiration, rather than those of the Mamluk artists, for the western Indian Amīr Khusrāw paintings (FIG 60) of *circa* 1450. The Muzaffarid details are strongest in the outdoor scenes, the latter being so different in style from those with architectural features, that the artist may have had two different styles of painting in front of him, both Mamluk and Muzaffarid. Muzaffarid features included the high rounded hills (FIG 18), oval faces, squint eyes, and elegant horses. Even if the miniatures were added in *circa* 1380, this, like the Jalayirid Baghdad manuscript (Or. 13297) of 1386 and 1388, is a very early illustrated copy of the *Khamṣa* of Nizāmī (d. 1209).

By the time he defeated the Muzaffarids in the south in 1393, Tīmūr had already overcome the Jalayirids at Tabriz in the north. It is on record that after these conquests, Tīmūr sent men of letters and the most skilful craftsmen and artisans from

Shiraz and Baghdad to Samarkand. According to Dust Muḥammad they included the artist 'Abd al-Hayy and that, after his death, the 'masters emulated his work'. Unfortunately no manuscripts which can be attributed to Samarkand appear to have survived from the period 1392 to the death of Timūr in 1405, nor is there evidence that his son Shāhrukh took manuscripts or artists from Samarkand to his library at Herat, as he did from Shiraz in 1415. It is recorded only that when Timūr returned to Samarkand in 1396, he started a building programme using the architects and craftsmen he had gathered around him during his conquests (FIG 34). Also, although he occupied Sultan Aḥmad's palace at Baghdad in 1393-4 there is no record of Jalayirid manuscripts having been taken from there to Samarkand. The two Jalayirid manuscripts in the British Library were probably taken to Shiraz with artists who migrated from Baghdad and Tabriz to work for Iskandar Sultan. The 1386 and 1388 Niẓāmī (Or. 13297) may have remained in Shiraz for it was almost certainly bought there in the 19th century by R.M. Binning. The 1396 Khvājū Kirmānī (Add. 18113), which served as a model for compositions appearing in manuscripts copied and illustrated for Iskandar Sultan in *circa* 1410, was then probably taken to Herat by Shāhrukh in 1415.

Henry III of Castill (d. 1407) sent envoys to Turkey, one being present at the Battle of Ankara in 1402 when Timūr defeated Bayazid. He also sent three to Samarkand, including Clavijo⁽¹⁾, who sailed in May 1403 accompanied by Muḥammad al-Qāṣi. Clavijo gives a graphic account of the journey and of the splendour of Timūr's court and the vast encampment outside Samarkand. He tells of the splendour of the tents and pavilions, of the use of rich silk, and of gold decorations and of the buildings of Samarkand with their blue and gold tiles, but makes no mention of illustrated manuscripts or of artists at work, and it is probable that Timūr's interest in the arts lay chiefly in the design and building of fine mosques and monuments.

Timūr had invaded Iran in 1380-1, subduing Khurasan, Mazandaran and Sistan. He entered Mazandaran again in 1384 and moved on to Azerbaijan, 'Irāq-i 'ajam and Georgia, returning by way of Shiraz and Isfahan. He subjugated Armenia and Georgia between 1393 and 1396 and carried out his campaign in India in 1398-9. In 1399 he invaded Ottoman Turkey, winning the Battle of Ankara and capturing Bayazid in 1402. Timūr's invasion forcibly united Iranian lands and, in spite of the inevitable massacres and destruction which accompanied it, led to the formation of remarkable cultural centres round the residences of his sons and grandsons who were the governors of Shiraz, Herat and Yazd.

(1) P. Waley and N.M. Titaley, 'An illustrated Persian text of *Kalīla wa Dimna* dated 707/1307-8,' *British Library Journal*, Vol. 1, No. 1, Spring, 1975.

(2) R. Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting*, 1962, p. 91.

(3) C. Rieu, *Catalogue of Persian MSS*, Vol. I, p. 68.

(4) L. Binyon, J.V.S. Wilkinson and B. Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting*, 1933, PLATES XXIX A & B; XXXA.

(5) *Oriental Miniatures of Abu Raiton Beruni Institute of Orientalology of the UZSSR Academy of Sciences*, Tashkent, 1980, PLATES 5-6.

(6) C.R. Markham, *Narrative of the Embassy of Ray Gonzales de Clavijo to the Court of Timour at Samarcand, A.D. 1403-6*, London, 1859.

The brilliance of Herat as a centre under the patronage of the descendants of Tīmūr, 1415–1447

The 15th century was one of the most brilliant periods of Persian painting, paradoxically coinciding with the years when Iran was once more beset by political upheaval, invasions and disruption. The conquests of Tīmūr overlapped the beginning of the century which was to end with the rise of Shah Ismā'il (d. 1524), the founder of the Safavid dynasty and the first truly native ruler of Iran for many centuries.

Shiraz succeeded Baghdad and Tabriz at the beginning of the century as the centre of book production under a grandson of Tīmūr, Iskandar Sultan, until he was deposed in 1414. In 1415 Shāhrukh (d. 1447), son of Tīmūr, left his own son, Ibrāhīm Sultan, in possession at Shiraz and took the best artists and craftsmen to Herat where he had a magnificent library and where the finest manuscripts were produced both for him and for another of his sons, Bāysunghur (d. 1433). The so-called Timurid period lasted until 1506 with Transoxiana, Afghanistan, Iran and Iraq all under the rule of Tīmūr's successors and with two Turkman states as contemporary rivals. Named, according to their tribal emblems, the Qarā Quyunlu (Black Sheep) and Ak Quyunlu (White Sheep), they were rivals of each other as well as of the Timurids. The Qarā Quyunlu (1380–1468) who ruled Azerbaijan, Iraq and parts of Iran were succeeded by the Ak Quyunlu who ruled from 1378 to 1508 in Kurdistan, eastern Anatolia, Azerbaijan and parts of Iran and who were, in turn, finally supplanted by the Safavids.

Under the Timurids the finest elements of the styles of painting which had developed under the patronage of the Ilkhānids, Jalayirids and Muzaffarids in the 14th century, were absorbed and fused with the natural artistic and romantic Persian elements. Development continued throughout the 15th century under the major Herat patrons, to be joined in the second half by the style of the Turkman invaders under whom book production was mainly centred in Shiraz and the south of Iran. These styles, Herat and court Turkman, fused when artists gathered at Shah Ismā'il's Tabriz academy early in the 16th century, thus forming the exquisite paintings of the Safavid period when Persian book illustration reached the summit of its technical achievement under the patronage of both Shah Ismā'il and his son Shah Tahmāsp between *circa* 1520 and 1540. Tabriz at this time regained its position, of a century earlier, as the leading centre of book production.

The first half of the 15th century was notable for the discerning patronage of the sons and grandsons of Tīmūr who were the rulers and governors, at different periods, with centres at Shiraz in the south and Herat (now part of modern Afghanistan) in the

north-east of Iran. Concurrently, illustrated manuscripts were produced, throughout the 15th century, outside the main academies, for lesser patrons, in both the north and the south of the country, including Shamakha (Shirvan) on the Caspian, Mazandaran in the north-west and in Transoxiana, Gilan and Yazd. Miniatures in the various provincial styles more than made up for their lack of finish by the idiosyncratic interpretation and original choice of subjects. Unusual incidents were selected from the poems of Nizāmī and from the *Shāhnāma* which were otherwise rarely illustrated, while provincial miniatures often retained stylistic details of much earlier metropolitan work. As examples of paintings in these provincial styles occur in British Library manuscripts of the latter half of the 15th century, they will be discussed later.

In Persian miniatures, landscapes fall into two clearly defined categories and are often a clue to the provenance of a manuscript. Shiraz landscapes developed from the Inju conical hills which were to become high round mounds in Muzaffarid paintings. These were followed by the convention of a high horizon, occasionally broken by a small area of blue or gold sky at one side but usually taking up the entire background. Tabriz paintings of the 1330s, contemporary with the Inju style of Shiraz, were still influenced by Chinese landscape conventions but by the Jalayirid period of the 1380s and '90s the landscape consisted of a straight horizon which usually included a row of trees and tree stumps along it. A large expanse of sky, either lapis or gold, is a feature of these miniatures and of those of the early Herat period of Bāysunghur (d. 1433) and Shāhrukh (d. 1447) and, later, of Sultan Ḥusayn's academy at the end of the 15th century.

These two kinds of landscape are to be seen in a manuscript of a collection of epics dated 1397 which is divided between the British Library (Or. 2780) and the Chester Beatty Library (P. 114). The miniatures make an interesting study of the combination of the style of the Jalayirid artists who moved south to Shiraz to escape the onslaught of Timūr's attacks on Baghdad and Tabriz, and that of artists already working for the young Iskandar Sultan who was a grandson of Timūr and nephew of Shāhrukh. According to a manuscript in the British Library (Or. 1566) dated 867/1463, which is a work on general history⁽¹⁾, Iskandar Sultan was left in charge of the government of Fars during the absence of his father, 'Umar Shaykh, in 795/1393 when he was only nine years old. The unnamed author of the history, writing in the lifetime of his patron, i.e. in 815-6/1412-13, was a dependant of Iskandar Sultan. That the latter was nine years old in 1393 is confirmed by the beautiful horoscope manuscript (now in the Library of the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine in London)⁽²⁾ which was written and illustrated for Iskandar Sultan in 813/1410-11. His birth is given as 3rd Rabi' I, 786/25th April 1384.

Iskandar Sultan became ruler of Fars as a vassal of his uncle, Shāhrukh, in 1409 and during the brief period between that date and 1414 when he was deposed, a remarkable, distinctive and beautiful series of illustrated manuscripts were produced at his Shiraz academy. That artists at Shiraz were already producing fine manuscript illustrations earlier, is evidenced by the 1397 collection of epics. While retaining Muzaffarid facial characteristics and, in some miniatures, the high horizon, the paintings in Or. 2780 also include Jalayirid features such as the stunning and copious



FIG 19 Men and animals travelling over a winding mountain pass
Anthology. Folio = 24 X 16 cm.
Persian, Shiraz. 1441-2.
Topkapı Sarayı, Revan 1976 (97a)

use of gold, spandrels decorated with flowers, the typical Jalayirid window (PLATE 3) and the delicate illumination in which blue and gold predominate. The somewhat bulky figures are more representative of Shiraz than of the elongated elegant men and women in Jalayirid paintings.

This collection of epics is a rare work and includes a poem on the history of the Mongols which is illustrated with four miniatures. One of these⁽³⁾ portrays an episode when the Mongols left the mountain valley of Irgene Kun where they had been forced to remain by the Tatars. The artist's method of demonstrating the difficulties met with by nomadic tribesmen and their animals, is brilliantly conveyed by the division of the composition, using layers of rocks round which groups of tribesmen and women, with their riding and pack animals, wind their way towards the encampment in the foreground. This same method of conveying the difficulties in negotiating mountains met with by nomadic tribesmen and their animals, occurs again in a later Shiraz anthology of 845/1441 (FIG 19) in the Topkapı Sarayı Museum (Revan 1976).

One of the epic poems in the British Library's portion of the 1397 manuscript (Or. 2780), the *Bahmannāma*, relates the story of Bahman's discovery of the bodies of great Iranian heroes, Sām, Narīmān, Rustam and Garshāsp, in their coffins in a mausoleum (PLATE 3). Another 14th-century painting, probably somewhat earlier than the version in Or. 2780, of this very rare subject is in the Diez album in West Berlin, Diez A 72 (29)⁽⁴⁾. The 1397 manuscript with its extensive use of gold, fine illumination and warm colours is a splendid example of the fusing of the best styles of late 14th-century Shiraz and Jalayirid work and which, although lacking a dedication, was probably copied for Iskandar Sultan.

The Wellcome Institute horoscope manuscript has, as its main painting, a superb double-page circular composition, on a lapis background, showing the position of the planets and the signs of the zodiac as they were at the moment of Iskandar Sultan's birth in 1384. It also has the illuminated *unwāns*, marginal decorations and full-page decorative designs so typical of work done for Iskandar Sultan. The British Library and the Gulbenkian collection in Lisbon both possess miscellanies (Add. 27261 and LA 1617 respectively) of the same date as the Wellcome manuscript, 1410-11, which is also the date of an astronomical work (F 1418) in Istanbul University Library, the latter including an interesting painting of the astronomer Nāsir al-Dīn Ṭūsī and his fellow scientists working in the Maragha observatory⁽⁵⁾.

Iskandar Sultan appeared to favour manuscripts which were packed with information but which were of very small format. The British Library's 'pocket encyclopaedia' (Add. 27261) is a case in point, for, although the manuscript only measures 18 x 12.3 centimetres, it contains over five hundred folios which, in terms of book pagination, is equal to over a thousand pages. Very little of these folios is left uncovered being mostly filled by text written both in the centre and in the borders, or by marginal decorations, tiny border paintings and full-page illustrations. Some of the compositions in this manuscript are the prototypes of miniatures painted by artists throughout the 15th century, which still occur in manuscripts of the Herat school as late as 1494. The Iskandar Sultan manuscript contains one composition which is derived from the painting of the interior palace scene in the 1396 Khvājū Kirmānī manuscript (Add. 18113) (PLATE 1). The latter was probably taken to Shiraz by Jalayirid artists when they moved from Baghdad and both it and the Iskandar Sultan miscellany almost certainly went with the artists who were taken by Shāhrukh to Herat in 1415. Some of the compositions occurring in later 15th-century manuscripts are so similar in detail to the originals⁽⁶⁾ that the artists must surely have had the manuscripts to work from and not merely sketches.

An example of the repetition of a composition is that of the miniature (PLATE 4) of the Christian monk falling from the roof of the monastery, watched by 'Alī who saved him by a miracle. It occurs again in a manuscript, now in the Topkapı Sarayı (Hazine 761), which was begun for Pīr Būdāq at Baghdad in 1463. Pīr Būdāq was a connoisseur and patron who attracted Herat artists to his academies at Baghdad and Shiraz after the death of Shāhrukh and these artists probably took manuscripts from Herat with them. Like Iskandar Sultan, Pīr Būdāq was headstrong and perverse and came to an equally untimely end.

This lovely painting (Add. 27261, folio 305b) (PLATE 4) displays the Jalayirid low horizon, expanse of gold sky and flowering plants and trees. The illumination round the balustrade of the building is typical of that seen in *'amwāns* (headings) within the text. The kind of slim elongated figures, such as those talking behind the gold grid, occur in all Iskandar Sultan manuscripts and in miniatures of *circa* 1420 done for his cousin and successor at Shiraz, Ibrāhīm Sultan, who was another noted patron of book production.

The miscellany (Add. 27261) which is written in the tiny script associated with Iskandar Sultan manuscripts, was copied by two scribes, Muḥammad al-Halvā'i up to folio 372a, and the remainder by Nāsir al-kātib. The text written in the centre of the pages includes all five poems of the *Khamsa* of Nizāmī, three episodes from the *Shāhnāma* and part of Khvājū Kirmānī's *Humāy va Humāyūn*. It also includes an astronomical treatise with illustrations of the symbols, planets and constellations which are very similar to those in the Wellcome Institute horoscope manuscript and in the Istanbul University manuscript. In addition there are treatises on geometry, law, alchemy and astrology. Text written in the borders includes the *Ilāhīnāma* and *Maniq al-Tayr* by 'Aṭṭār as well as examples of the work of many other poets. The latter include Ḥāfiẓ who died only twelve years earlier than the date of this manuscript, in 1389-90, making this one of the earliest anthologies to include his poetry. Other works written in the borders include an anonymous study on diseases of the horse, a treatise on alchemy compiled especially for Iskandar Sultan, and a theological tract.

At the time of the death of Timūr in 1405, his son Shāhrukh was governor of Khurasan, an appointment made by his father in 1397. Over the next fifteen years, Shāhrukh extended his rule over almost the whole of the territory previously ruled by Timūr. He took Fars in 817/1414, deposing his nephew, Iskandar Sultan, whose wayward and ambitious scheming led to his downfall and to his death in 1415. Herat was to remain Shāhrukh's capital until his own death in 1447 and of his four brilliant sons, he was outlived by only one, the famous astronomer Ulugh Beg who died in 1449 and whose sextant can still be seen at Samarkand. Shāhrukh's reign was a period of renaissance, of the patronage of learned men and of poets and of the calligraphers, artists and craftsmen who copied, illustrated and prepared superb manuscripts. He had a magnificent library at Herat, sent and received envoys to and from the courts of China, India and Ottoman Turkey and he rebuilt towns and provinces previously destroyed by Timūr, restoring them to prosperity.

After deposing Iskandar Sultan in 1414, Shāhrukh took artists and scribes to Herat in 1415, leaving his son, Ibrāhīm Sultan, to govern Shiraz and the province of Fars where he was to remain until his death in 1435. Although the most skilled artists, illuminators and scribes appear to have been taken away to Herat by Shāhrukh, some charmingly illustrated manuscripts bearing dedications to Ibrāhīm Sultan have survived. Early miniatures such as those in the Süleymaniye Library manuscript (Sü Fatih 3682) in Istanbul, which is dated *circa* 1420, include some painted in the delicate style associated with Iskandar Sultan's academy (PLATE 4) of about ten years earlier. This manuscript also has early examples of the unmistakable style associated



FIG 20 Bahrām Gūr and the shepherd who hanged his dog
Khamsa of Nizāmī. 15.5 × 14 cm. Persian, Shiraz style. 1435-6. Or. 12856 (226a)

with Ibrāhīm Sultan's artists and with manuscripts produced at Shiraz up to about 1450, when the Turkman style began to appear. The Süleymaniye Library manuscript contains copies of *Katīla va Dimna*, and *Sindbādnāma* and the *Marzūbān-nāma* and is of the small format favoured by Iskandar Sultan. It includes a very early example of the curious type of horse which became the hallmark of Shiraz manuscripts of this period. Raw-boned and broad-chested, with abnormally long necks, large hooves and ugly heads, these bad-tempered horses, which invariably had their ears laid flat on their heads, appear in no other style of Persian painting. The miniatures in which they appear have begun to lose the Jalayirid influence and to revert to the earlier Muzaffarid characteristics including the high horizons and the oval faces with their distinctive squint eyes and pointed beards. Figures became larger and compositions more simple as time went on, losing the delicacy and elegance of the paintings of *circa* 1410 associated with Iskandar Sultan's academy.

A copy of the *Khamsa* of Nizāmī in the British Library (Or. 12856) illustrates the style connected with the period of Ibrāhīm Sultan's patronage including the peculiar horse, its ear laid back and its eye glaring in an evil manner (FIG 20). This miniature is an illustration to the story of the shepherd who hanged his dog because it killed its

master's sheep to provide food for the she-wolf with which it consorted. Bahrām Gūr, having been told this story by the shepherd, pondered about his own trusted servants. Upon returning home, he enquired into the activities of his trusted vizier and on discovering that he, like the sheepdog, had acted treacherously, had him likewise hanged. Shiraz details, such as the usual high horizon and oval faces, are in evidence but an early example occurs in this miniature of the kind of saddle cloth which extends in a broad band round the horse's chest. This is a detail which is still to be seen in Shiraz manuscripts of the early 16th century, and which found its way into Indian Sultanate painting via imported Shiraz manuscripts and can be seen in a British Library Sultanate manuscript, a copy of *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā* (Or. 4535), which was probably done in Bengal, *circa* 1508.

Ibrāhīm Sultan was a noted calligrapher himself and a patron of poets and learned men. The historian Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī, the author of the history of Timūr, the *Zafarnāma* (Book of Victories), which he completed in 1425, worked, with other scholars, for Ibrāhīm Sultan. Several illustrated copies of the *Zafarnāma* were made in the early 16th century at Shiraz, two being included in the British Library collections (Or. 1359 and Add. 7635). Another, which appears to have been produced for Ibrāhīm Sultan and which is now dispersed, once bore the date 1434, i.e. a mere ten years after it was completed by Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī, and has miniatures in the typical Ibrāhīm Sultan style. Yet another copy, dated 1467, contains the early work of Bihzād (FIG 34)⁷⁷ in the Herat style. An example of the calligraphy of Ibrāhīm Sultan is in a Qur'ān which he copied and which is now in the Pars Museum at Shiraz (No. 430 M/P)⁷⁸.

An interesting manuscript produced under the patronage of Ibrāhīm Sultan is an anthology, now in the Museum für Islamische Kunst in West Berlin (J 4628), which is dated 823/1420. This anthology is dedicated by Ibrāhīm Sultan to his brother Bāysunghur, and was no doubt produced as a gift to be presented to him. Several artists appear to have worked on it, for the miniatures, like those in a manuscript (now in Leningrad) prepared for Shāhrukh in 1431, represent an extraordinary mixture of styles, ranging from the crude to the sophisticated⁷⁹. The large ugly horses occur in some miniatures but in others they are well drawn, as in the miniature (FIG 21) of Khusrāw and Shīrīn meeting on the hunting ground in which Khusrāw's stallion is wooing the mare ridden by Shīrīn. The high horizon, with its rounded hills topped with trees, is a direct descendant of Muzaffarid painting (FIG 16) but the figures and animals retain the refinement of that earlier Shiraz style of 1410-11 associated with the academy of Iskandar Sultan. The borders, which are filled with text, are decorated with the triangular designs also seen earlier.

Ibrāhīm Sultan's brother Bāysunghur, an even more famous patron, was settled at Herat by 1417 but was sent by Shāhrukh to Tabriz as governor in 1420. There he discovered a small group of artists and scribes, still working, who had formerly been employed by Sultan Aḥmad. In 1421 Bāysunghur took them with him when he returned to Herat and set up his own academy where they worked side by side with the artists and craftsmen who had been brought from Shiraz. This merging of the styles of some of the finest artists who had formerly worked under the patronage of

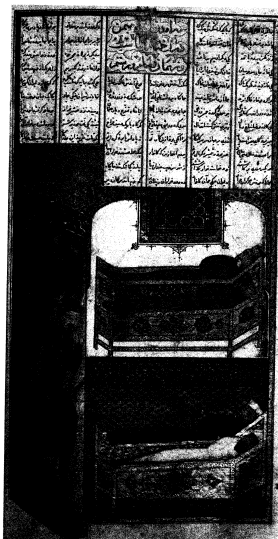


PLATE 3 Bahman looking at the heroes, Sām, Rustam, Narīmān and Garshāsp in their coffins
Collection of epics. 17 × 10.8 cm. Shiraz (?), 1397. Or. 2780 (171b)

HERAT 1415-1447



PLATE 4. The Christian monk falling from the monastery roof
Miscellany. 17 x 10 cm. Shiraz, 1410-11. Add. 27261 (305b)



FIG 21 Meeting between Khusraw and Shirin

Anthology, 29 x 20 cm. Persian, Shiraz, 1420. Museum für Islamische Kunst, Berlin, J. 4628

either Iskandar Sultan *circa* 1410-11 or of the Jalayirid Sultan Ahmad *circa* 1386-96, produced some of the most beautiful Persian miniatures ever painted. The same kind of situation arose at the beginning of the 16th century when artists of the Later Herat school and those working in the metropolitan Turkman style converged on Tabriz, resulting in the magnificent manuscripts connected with Shah Ismā'īl and his son Shah Tahmāsp.



FIG 22 A prince being entertained.
Probably a portrait of Bāysunghur
Kalīla va Dimna by Abū'l-Ma'ālī Naṣr Allāh.
Folio = 29 × 19.5 cm. Persian, Herat.
1429. Topkapı Sarayı, Revan 1022 (1b)

Superb manuscripts were produced under the patronage of Bāysunghur and amongst them was the copy of the *Shāhnāma*, now in the Gulistan Palace Library in Tehran, which was the first to include the new preface, written by Bāysunghur himself, which was used henceforth in nearly every copy made of the work. Another fine manuscript, copied and illustrated in 1429, is the *Kalīla va Dimna* (Revan 1022) in the Topkapı Sarayı Museum Library. Both this manuscript and the Tehran *Shāhnāma* include what must be portraits of Bāysunghur. In the *Kalīla va Dimna*, the double frontispiece is of the traditional subject for such paintings, a prince being entertained. The principal figure, who is seated on a carpet out-of-doors, is undoubtedly Bāysunghur (FIG 22), his weak delicate face betraying the self-indulgence which resulted in his death from alcoholism in 1433.

The British Library collection of illustrated Persian manuscripts does not include anything of the calibre of the best work produced at Bāysunghur's academy at its peak, but it does possess an extraordinarily interesting manuscript (Or. 13802) with a colophon giving the place as Herat, and the date 824/1421 (FIG 23). It is probably one of the earliest manuscripts produced at Bāysunghur's newly-established Herat

FIG 23 Shirin is shown the portrait of Khusrāw
Khamsa of Nizāmī. 11 × 8 cm. Persian,
 Herat, 1421. Or. 13802 (88a)



academy, before the Tabriz Jalayirid artists had time to make their mark, for the miniatures are in the earlier style of Shiraz work such as that produced for Iskandar Sultan. Whilst artists and illuminators who worked on the 1410-11 miscellany (Add. 27261) may well have worked on the 1421 manuscript as well, one of Iskandar Sultan's scribes certainly did. When the two manuscripts, Add. 27261 and Or. 13802, are studied side by side, the similarity in the styles of the miniatures, calligraphy and illumination, which includes maroon in its colour scheme, in addition to the triangular decorations and 'thumb-pieces' and the use of the borders of folios for additional text, is quite striking.

Stylistically, the miniatures in this manuscript⁽¹⁰⁾ are of the utmost importance, partly because they are the only known examples of their kind done in Herat at this early date (1421) (FIG 23) and partly because they anticipate by some fifty years an equally elegant style of painting, associated with Shiraz and Isfahan, which reappeared in the 1470s. Miniatures in this latter style have always been considered to be paintings by a small group of artists who had continued to work in an earlier, traditional, style associated with Shiraz and Herat, at a time when the altogether

simpler and heavier style of the Turkman invaders was prevalent. Until this manuscript, dated Herat, 1421, came on the scene there had been nothing to provide positive proof from whence this earlier traditional style had been derived.

Thanks to the expertise of the conservation staff in the British Library's Department of Oriental Manuscripts and Printed Books, certain inscriptions in the manuscript were brought to light. The most important gives the name of a famous scribe who copied the *Khamṣa* of Nizāmī in the centre of the pages, the border text being added by another scribe in 1435. This principal scribe's name is given as Ma'rūf ibn 'Abd Allah and he is probably the Ma'rūf Khaṭṭāt al-Baghdādī who was famous in his own lifetime and who worked, successively, for four of the most noted patrons of their day. These were Sultan Aḥmad in Baghdad in the late 14th century, Iskandar Sultan at Shiraz and Isfahan in the early 15th century and then, when he had been taken to Herat in 1414, Shāhrukh and Bāysunghur. Qaṣī Aḥmad in his treatise on calligraphers and painters⁽¹⁾ describes him as a 'rarity of the age' and relates two anecdotes concerning his independence of spirit. The first concerns Iskandar Sultan who, having ordered Ma'rūf to write five hundred verses daily, discovered that he proposed to write fifteen hundred in one day and nothing for the next two. Obviously curious to see whether Ma'rūf could work in this manner, he ordered umbrellas and an awning to be erected to protect him, and supplied a man to trim his *qalam* (reed pen), whereupon Ma'rūf duly completed the copying of fifteen hundred verses in one day. It is related, also, that he annoyed Bāysunghur who had commissioned him to copy the poems of Nizāmī, sending him paper on which to write. Ma'rūf kept the paper for eighteen months and then returned it with nothing written on it. No date is given for this episode but according to Qaṣī Aḥmad it occurred about the same time that Ma'rūf was accused of being involved in a plot to kill Shāhrukh, i.e. 1427. If so, he had already made this copy of the *Khamṣa* of Nizāmī, (Or. 13802) in 1421. Ma'rūf was threatened with execution but his life was spared and he was imprisoned.

Among the artists and scribes found in Tabriz in 1420 and taken to Herat by Bāysunghur, was the calligrapher Ja'far Tabrizī, a former pupil of 'Ubayd Allah, a son of Mir 'Alī Tabrizī, the scribe who perfected the *nasta'liq* script and the copyist of the British Library's 1396 Khvājū Kirmānī manuscript (PLATE 1 and FIG 12). Ja'far became the head of Bāysunghur's academy with forty staff under him. Bāysunghur, a noted calligrapher himself, was only thirty-four when he died of alcoholism in 1433 but in that short time some of the most beautiful illustrated manuscripts in existence had been produced at his academy. Ja'far was the scribe of a manuscript of the romantic poem, *Mihr u Mushtari* by Aṣṣār, completed in 1420 at Tabriz. This manuscript, now in a private collection, came to light at about the same time that the British Library acquired the 1421 Herat Nizāmī manuscript (Or. 13802). Whereas the latter clearly demonstrates the connection with the Shiraz academy of Iskandar Sultan of *circa* 1410-11, the *Mihr u Mushtari* goes back further in time to the Jalayirid *Humāy va Humāyūn* (Add. 18113) of 1396 and even earlier to the Nizāmī manuscript (Or. 13297) of 1386 and 1388. Comparison of details in the 1420 miniature of Mihr playing polo (FIG 24) with that of the old woman accosting Sultan Sanjar (FIG 12) from the 1396 Khvājū Kirmānī manuscript shows the similarity of the style of these two paintings,

FIG 24 Mihr playing polo
Mihr u Mushtari by 'Aṣṣār.
 Persian, Tabriz, 1420.
 Private Collection



particularly in the use of the low horizon and in the figure of the page in each. The central polo player in the *Mihr u Mushtari* painting is almost identical with that of Faridūn on horseback hunting a gazelle in the 1386 and 1388 Nizāmī (Or. 13297, folio 19a). The building on the left which rises to the top of the painting in the polo scene is also typical of earlier 14th-century Tabriz and Baghdad work.

In contrast to the romantic poems, epics and fables favoured by Bāysunghur, his father, Shāhrukh, commissioned both the copying of earlier historical works and the writing of later histories. He collected together copies of parts of the *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh*, originally produced at Rashīd al-Dīn's Tabriz academy in the early 14th century, and he commissioned the historian Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū to write a continuation from the point where Rashīd al-Dīn ended, up to his own time. A manuscript in the Topkapı Sarayı (Hazine 1653) contains part of an original copy of the *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh* dated 714/1314 to which has been added, in 829/1426, the continuation by Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, with

contemporary illustrations. Another manuscript in the Topkapı Sarayı (B 282) is a superb copy, of *circa* 1432, of the complete works (*Kulliyât*) of Hâfiz-i Abrû, containing twenty miniatures (FIG 25) in the so-called historical style associated with Shâhrukh's artists in which, compared to the paintings in Bâysunghur's manuscripts, figures and plants are much larger in relation to the landscape. The *Mi'râjnâme* (Supp. Turc. 190) in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris⁽¹²⁾ (Ms. Supp. Turc 190) is dated 840/1436, (the same date as Ibrâhîm Sultan's *Zafarnâme*), and while containing miniatures in the bold style of the Istanbul manuscript (B. 282) also contains two lovely paintings of scenes in the Garden of Paradise worthy of the finest work produced for Bâysunghur. After his death in 1433, Bâysunghur's artists probably worked for Shâhrukh and also for another of his sons, Muḥammad Jûkî, for whom the magnificent *Shâhnâme* belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society was completed in *circa* 1444⁽¹³⁾.

It was to be expected that a copy of the poems of Nizâmî would be included in Shâhrukh's library and a manuscript of the *Khamsa* dated 1431 which is dedicated to him is now in Leningrad (State Hermitage Museum V.P.1000). Its miniatures are even more of a mixture and hotch potch of styles than those in the Berlin anthology which artists and other craftsmen of Ibrâhîm Sultan had prepared at Shiraz for Ibrâhîm's brother, Bâysunghur (FIG 26). The Leningrad manuscript, like the Ibrâhîm Sultan work, includes some compositions of abysmal quality. One or two are similar to paintings in the Iskandar Sultan miscellany (Add. 27261) of 1410-11, but are of such poor quality as to suggest that the artist, besides being untalented, was probably working from sketches. On the other hand, there are some lovely miniatures of interior scenes or of action set against a beautiful landscape, which are worthy of inclusion in any Bâysunghur manuscript, one such illustrating the incident when Khusrâw killed a marauding lion outside Shîrîn's tent (FIG 26). While some miniatures, such as this, include a typical Herat-style landscape, other paintings employ the high horizons, including the rounded hills, connected with the Shiraz style and it may be that some artists who had formerly worked in this style for Ibrâhîm Sulṭân had moved up to Shâhrukh's academy at Herat.

Bâysunghur was succeeded after his death in 1433 by his son 'Alâ al-Dawla Mirzâ who gathered Bâysunghur's artists into his own establishment and continued to support them. They included the artist Ghiyâs al-Dîn, who had earlier accompanied the embassy sent in 1419-22 by Shâhrukh to China. He travelled as the envoy of Bâysunghur who instructed him to keep a full account of anything worthy of note. Ghiyâs al-Dîn faithfully recorded their adventures and described the country, buildings, institutions, system of government and wonderful objects to be seen in China. This diary was later re-written by Hâfiz-i Abrû and incorporated in one of his historical works, *Zubdat al-tawârikh*⁽¹⁴⁾.

Illustrated manuscripts were produced in some numbers at Herat, Shiraz and Yazd during the 1440s. A beautiful Herat manuscript of the *Khamsa* of Nizâmî (Hazine 781) dated Herat 849/1445-6 in the Topkapı Sarayı (FIG 13) is particularly interesting when studying the repetition of miniatures. It contains compositions which first appear in the 1396 Jalayirid *Humây va Humâyân* (Add. 18113), then in Nizâmî

HERAT 1415-1447



FIG 25 The women of Egypt, overcome by the beauty of Yūsuf, cutting their fingers as they peel oranges
Kullīyyāt-i Ḥafṣ-i Abūl. Folio = 42 × 31 cm.
Persian, Herat style, *circa* 1430. Topkapı Sarayı, B. 282 (41a)



FIG 26 Khusraw killing a lion outside Shirin's tent
Khamsa of Nizāmī. Persian, Herat, 1431. The State Hermitage, Leningrad, VP 1000, (72b)

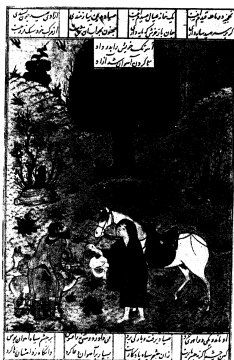


FIG 27 Majnūn trading his horse and his clothes for the captured gazelles

Khamsa of Nizāmī. Folio = 24 × 16.5 cm. Persian, Herat, 1446. Topkapı Sarayı, Hazine 786 (118a)



FIG 28 Shirin and her weary horse carried by Farhād
Khamsa of Nizāmī.
Folio = 25 × 15.5 cm. Persian, Yazd, 1446-7.
Topkapı Sarayı, Revan 866 (85a)

miniatures in Iskandar Sultan's miscellany of 1410-11 (Add. 27261), and in a manuscript (Topkapı Sarayı Hazine 761) of 1463 done for Pīr Būdāq, and finally, in two manuscripts of Sultan Ḥusayn's Herat academy, of which the earliest is dated 1470 (Chester Beatty P. 144) and the other (British Library Or. 6810) 1494.

Another Herat manuscript of this period (Hazine 786) in the Topkapı Sarayı collection, dated 850/1446, includes some very original interpretations of subjects, particularly that (folio 118a) of Majnūn bartering his clothes and horse in exchange for the gazelles caught by a huntsman (FIG 27). The soft brown eyes of gazelles reminded Majnūn of his beloved Laylā's eyes and gazelles were always his special pets. This manuscript has a double-page frontispiece in the Herat style which is a strong link with later Shiraz manuscripts of the 1470s and '80s when artists were working in the earlier traditional Persian style side by side with those painting in the predominantly somewhat pedestrian style of the Turkman invaders.

Shiraz manuscripts of the 1440s, as opposed to those of Herat origin of the same period, retained their high horizons, gigantic horses, cockscomb head-dresses and fungal rocks, for it was not until the 1460s when the patronage of Pīr Būdāq attracted Herat artists to his centres at Baghdad, Isfahan and Shiraz that these two styles were to combine. At the same time illustrated manuscripts were being produced at Yazd, although not in the same quantity as at Herat and Shiraz. The miniatures are in a simple provincial style, such as that of Farhād carrying Shirin and her weary horse (FIG 28) from a *Khamisa* of Nizāmī dated 1446-7 in the Topkapı Sarayı (Revan 866, folio 85a).

(1) C. Rieu, *Catalogue of Persian Mss. in the British Museum*, Vol. III, p. 1062.

(2) *Illustrated London News*, Christmas Number, 1981.

(3) G.M. Meredith-Owens, *Persian Illustrated Manuscripts*, 1973, PLATE III.

(4) M.S. Ipsiroğlu, *Saray-Alben: Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, Band VIII, Wiesbaden, 1964, PLATE XVIII, p. 40.

(5) Z. Akalay, 'An illustrated astrological work of the period of Iskandar Sultan', *Actes des VII Kongresses für Iranische Kunst*, 7-10th Sept. 1976 Munich, Berlin, 1979, pp. 418-425.

(6) N.M. Titley, 'Persian Miniature Painting: The Repetition of compositions during the fifteenth century', *Actes des VII. Internationalen Kongresses für Iranische Kunst und Archäologie München 7-10 September*, 1976, Berlin, 1979, pp. 471-491.

(7) T.W. Arnold, *Biknozd and his paintings in the Zafar-namah MS*, London, 1930.

(8) M. Lings and Y.H. Safadi, *The Qur'an*, British Library Exhibition Catalogue, 1976, No. 115, PLATE XXI.

(9) Volkmar Enderlein, *Die Miniaturen der Berliner Börsenquar-Handschrift*, Leipzig, 1970.

(10) N.M. Titley, 'A *Khamisa* of Nizāmī dated Herat, 1421', *British Library Journal*, Vol. 4, No. 2, Autumn, 1978.

(11) V. Minorsky (trans.), *Calligraphers and Painters*, Washington, 1959.

(12) M.R. Seguy, *The Miraculous Journey of Mahomet: The Miraj Nāmāh*, London, 1977.

(13) J.V.S. Wilkinson, *The Shāh-nāmāh of Firdausi: The Book of the Persian Kings*, London, 1931.

(14) K.M. Maitra (trans.), *A Persian Embassy to China, being an extract from Zafar-nāma-i-savā'ir-i-shāh-i-Hafiz Abū*, Lahore, 1934.

From the death of Shāhrukh to Ismā'il I, 1447-1500

After the death of Shāhrukh in 1447, the stability of Iran came to an end in the constant feuding between his grandsons as they fought for the succession. This opened the way for the Qarā Quyunlu (Black Sheep) Turkman invasion and the occupation of Fars, in the south of Iran, in 1452 under their leader Jahānshāh. By 1458, the latter's eldest son, Pīr Būdāq was governing Shiraz and, like Iskandar Sultan some forty years earlier, was causing anxiety by his wayward actions. In 1460, Jahānshāh went to Shiraz to reassert his authority. Pīr Būdāq was sent away to be governor of Baghdad but, after again rebelling against his father, was executed in 1465. Pīr Būdāq, a true connoisseur of fine manuscripts, maintained an academy at both Shiraz and Baghdad where, in a short space of time, some exquisite manuscripts were produced in which the illumination and illustrations were of the finest quality. Artists previously working at Herat must have joined Pīr Būdāq at one or other of his centres. There are no illustrated manuscripts which were produced for Pīr Būdāq in the British Library collections but there is a finely illuminated copy of the *Divān* of Ḥāfiẓ Sa'd which is dated 864/1459-60 (Or. 11846) and which bears a dedication to him. However, there are beautifully illustrated manuscripts in other collections notably the Chester Beatty Library (P 137), the India Office Library (MS No. 138) and the Topkapı Sarayı (Hazine 761 and Revan 1021). Two colophons in the India Office Library *Khamsa* of Jamālī from which Robinson reproduces six miniatures⁽¹⁾, give the date as 1465 and the place of copying as Baghdad. The provenance of the Chester Beatty manuscript is problematical but it reputedly once had a colophon signed by the scribe Darvīsh 'Abd Allah and bearing the date 868/1463. The miniatures are of the style and quality typical of manuscripts produced for Pīr Būdāq and some of the compositions suggest that artists may have had earlier paintings to work from⁽²⁾. Two manuscripts in the Topkapı Sarayı Library are illustrated with beautiful paintings. One of them, a copy of the *Khamsa* of Amīr Khusrāw, (Revan 1021) is dated 867/1463 and has eight miniatures in which the influence of earlier Herat painting is evident in the landscape, the elegance of the figures and the composition (FIG 29). The other, Hazine 761, a *Khamsa* of Nizāmī⁽³⁾ consists of two parts, of which the first up to folio 200 was copied for Pīr Būdāq. Again, these miniatures provide a link in the continuous chain of similar compositions, stretching from the Jalayirid *Humāy va Humāyūn* of 1396, through the 1410-11 Shiraz miscellany to Bāysunghur's patronage at Herat and that of Shāhrukh at the same time, as well as that of the Sultan Ḥusayn period at Herat at the end of the 15th century, including a composition⁽⁴⁾ derived from Add. 27261 (PLATE 4) of 1410-11. The second part of the



FIG 29 Entertainment out-of-doors
Khamisa of Amīr Khusrāw. Folio = 36.7 × 23 cm. Persian, Baghdad, 1463.
 Topkapı Sarayı, Revan 1021 (48a)

manuscript, which is not illustrated, was completed by order of Abu'l-Faṭḥ Sulṭān Khalīl, the whole manuscript being intended for presentation to his father, the Aq Quyunlu ruler, Uzūn Ḥasan. Khalīl himself was a noted patron who was centred at Shiraz and for whom manuscripts in the elegant traditional style were copied and illustrated in the 1470s. The Qarā Quyunlu dynasty had come to an end after the death of Jahānshāh in 1467, and their successors, the Aq Quyunlu, were undisputed rulers for some eleven years. Uzūn Ḥasan, whose capital was at Tabriz, had appointed Khalīl governor of Fars while the Timurid Abu Sa'id continued to hold Herat until his death in 1469 when he was succeeded by another of the great patrons, Sultan Ḥusayn. The latter, in the last three decades of the 15th century, restored Herat to the position it had previously held under Shāhrukh from 1414 to 1447, that of the leading centre of the patronage of art and men of letters.

By the time Pīr Būdāq died in 1465, manuscripts in an early Turkman style were beginning to appear. This so-called Turkman style was wide-ranging in quality, the finest represented by the early illustrations of *circa* 1460 (PLATE 5) and by those of the late 15th-century metropolitan or royal style (PLATE 7). The worst are to be seen in manuscripts produced commercially in which compositions were usually repetitive and often of very poor quality. Once more the styles of Herat and Shiraz were to diverge in the late 15th century, those of the south being predominantly Turkman. Early examples of the Turkman style occur in a manuscript of the *Gulistan* of Sa'dī in the British Library (Or. 13949) which probably dates from *circa* 1460, early enough for

the Herat influence still to be discernible. The miniature (folio 90b) (PLATE 5) in which Sa'di and his opponent are seeking advice from the *hakim* (wise man), after they had quarrelled during a discussion demonstrates the richness and quality of this early Turkman style. The miniatures in the *Gulistan* bear a noticeable similarity to those in a well-known anthology in the British Library collection (Add. 16561) which was produced in the north of Iran at Shamakha (Shirvan) in 873/1468. In his discussion of this anthology, Robinson⁽⁵⁾ states that the squat round-headed figures and rather broad treatment may connect it with the early stages of the Turkman style and 'indicate a northern origin' (PLATE 6). This is also true of the *Gulistan* manuscript (PLATE 5) for both manuscripts have exactly the same design incorporating a red line over gold round the window and both include painted walls and a flower design on the spandrels but the Shirvan anthology is the more luxurious of the two, both in details within the miniatures and in the quality of the illumination and of the heavy glazed gold-sprinkled coloured paper, imported from China which is discussed elsewhere (pp 240-2). Unfortunately neither the date nor the provenance of the *Gulistan* is given. Shirvan, a district on the western shore of the Caspian, with Shamakha as its capital, became independent under Shaykh Ibrāhīm of Darband after the death of Tīmūr in 1405. Shirvan was to enjoy a long period of peace and prosperity under Ibrāhīm's successors Khalil Allah (1417-62) and Farrukh Yasar (1462-1501). The anthology (Add. 16561), which was completed in 1468, was almost certainly produced under the patronage of Farrukh Yasar for the copyist Sharaf al-Dīn Ḥusayn adds *al-sultānī* to his own name. The splendid quality of this manuscript points to a long-established tradition of patronage at Shamakha, a fact that would encourage artists previously working at Herat to move there. The *Gulistan* manuscript appears almost certainly to have the same provenance and to have been produced for either Khalil Allah towards the end of his period of rule or for Farrukh Yasar at the beginning of his.

Another manuscript produced at a provincial centre in the north of Iran in the mid-15th century is a copy of the *Shāhnāma* dated 1446 (Or. 12688). It is dedicated to Amir Muḥammad ibn Muṭṭada a local ruler of Mazandaran in north-west Iran. It is appropriate that a manuscript of the *Shāhnāma* should be copied and illustrated in that region as Mazandaran was traditionally the home of the demons which caused so much trouble to Rustam and other great heroes, as related by Firdawsī. It is fortunate that the dedication in the 1446 manuscript leaves no doubt as to its provenance, for the simple style and the well-drawn elephants ridden by Indian mahouts (FIG 30) might well have led it to be attributed to Sultanate India.

The manuscript was rebound in two volumes before it was acquired by the British Museum (of which the Department of Oriental Manuscripts and Printed Books was then a part) and the second volume has no miniatures. The first volume includes eighty-nine miniatures which, like the illumination of the main heading, are simple⁽⁶⁾. Some are unfinished and, in common with all incomplete paintings, are interesting for the insight they give, particularly of the sequence of colouring in the unfinished battle scenes, the gold and silver (the latter unfortunately blackened by oxydisation) being applied first. The miniatures are in a charmingly naive style, often



FIG 30 Rustam pulling the Khāqān of China off his elephant in battle
Shāhnāma of Firdawsī. 10.7 × 18.5 cm. Persian, north provincial style, Mazandaran,
 1446. Or. 12688 (240a)

interesting for the subjects they illustrate and always delightful in execution. In the painting of Rustam pulling the Khāqān of China off his elephant (folio 240a), having lassoed him round the neck (FIG 30), the tiny Indian mahout is clapping his hand to his mouth in horror while the Khāqān desperately pulls at the rope to ease the pressure round his neck. In another painting in which the young Kay Khusraw is anxiously escorting his mother across the Oxus, having rescued her from enemy territory, the horses' tails are floating on the water (folio 180a). In yet another small illustration in which Rustam is up-ending Pulād, all the latter's arrows are rattling out of his quiver on to the ground (folio 249a). In most of the miniatures in which they occur, quivers are decorated with snow leopards' tails, a feature not seen in Persian painting much after the date of this manuscript (1446). Provincial artists, working outside the mainstream of the change and development which occurred in the metropolitan academies, often included archaistic details such as this long after they had ceased to appear in illustrations of the grander manuscripts.

This manuscript (Or. 12688) also illustrates all twelve of the battles of the Rukhs (or Champions) which is not often the case in illustrated copies of the *Shāhnāma*, and

the artist has followed the stories carefully, giving each victim his correct fate, whether from strangling, beheading, spearing, impaling, being cut in two with a sword or shot through with arrows. These stories have always been very popular in Iran, probably because all eleven Iranian heroes (Bīzhan fought twice) defeated every one of their twelve Turanian enemies. These single combats took place in order to fill in the time when both armies were waiting for general reinforcements to be brought up.

The style of painting connected with the Turkman dynasty lasted about fifty years from *circa* 1460. It gradually lost the Herat elements seen in the Shirvan anthology and *Gulistān*, becoming considerably more simple and stylised as a result. The Turkman patrons lacked the wealth and resources available to those of the calibre and standing of Sultan Ḥusayn, and comparison of manuscripts in the late 15th-century Herat and Turkman styles makes this very obvious. Figures in the latter were stocky with large heads and turbans, landscapes were invariably putty or pale blue in colour denoting desert, or covered with large-leaved vegetation to imply a more lush background. Robes were often brown, usually decorated with gold embroidery on the shoulders and just above the hem. Earlier miniatures retained the female cockscomb head-dress but this was superseded by a plain white cloth. Some artists working in this style were imported into India in addition to commercially-produced manuscripts by the Muslim Sultanate rulers of India in the late 15th century and their work had a marked influence on local artists.

A Turkman manuscript of an intermediate style is an undated *Shāhnāma* (Hazine 1515) in the Topkapı Sarayı (FIG 31). It shows characteristics of Shiraz work of *circa* 1435 and of the Turkman style of the early 1480s and the miniatures include rarely illustrated subjects. Strangely enough, the story of Kāva the smith, who rallied the people to rise up against the tyrant Zuhhāk, which is one of the great stories of individual courage in the *Shāhnāma*, is not often illustrated. Zuhhāk, fearing for his future at the hands of Faridūn, called all the nobles together from every province under his rule and ordered them to sign a scroll stating their support for him. Kāva the blacksmith arrived during this sycophantic session, shouting his grievances against Zuhhāk, and, when asked to add his signature to the scroll, berating those who had signed, seized the scroll and trampled it into the ground. He fastened his leather apron to the point of a spear (FIG 31), using it as a standard to rally the people to the support of Faridūn. Faridūn, recognising the apron as a symbol of support, draped it with a violet cloth and Kāva carried it at the head of the army. This standard became the ensign of the realm to be carried high in battle and is cited as a rallying-point in several later *Shāhnāma* stories.

The quality of the metropolitan or royal Turkman style is well-demonstrated in a British Library *Shāhnāma* dated 1486 (PLATE 7). The liveliness of action and warmth of colour in the flamboyant painting of Siyāvush undergoing ordeal by fire to prove his innocence, demonstrates the best qualities of the style. Sūdāba, step-mother of Siyāvush, falsely accused him of trying to seduce her, and his father, Kay Kā'ūs, ordered him to ride through fire so that if he emerged unscathed, his innocence would have been proved. Two huge piles of burning wood were prepared with a path



FIG. 31 Kāva rallying the people by using his blacksmith's apron as a standard
Shāhnāma of Firdawsi. Folio = 26 × 18 cm. Persian, Turkman style, late 15th century.
 Topkapı Sarayı, Hazine 1515 (18b)

left between them and Siyāvush, wearing a gold crown and white clothes, rode straight through on his black horse. His father and the onlookers were overjoyed but not the untruthful Sūdāba watching from the balcony above; Siyāvush pleaded for her and saved her from the vengeance of Kay Kā'ūs. A multi-coloured cloud against a gold sky forms the background to the crowd of men and boys watching with anxiety and surprise. The huge flames with their red and orange tips are not unlike dragons' wings, while the heart of the fire is predominantly crimson and scarlet. The gold leaf spray decorating the dome of the building from which Sūdāba is watching was used in Shiraz manuscript decoration for about a century and a half and found its way to India where it appears in Shiraz-inspired work in the British Library's Sultanate *Sharafnāma* (Or. 13836) dated 1532 (PLATE 32), even lingering on to appear in a *Rāmāyana* painting in a provincial Mughal style of *circa* 1600. This marvellously colourful and flamboyant royal Turkman style of painting fused with the ice-cool colours and neat compositions of late 15th-century Herat to form the technically remarkable painting of Tabriz of *circa* 1520-45.

Although the influence of Herat painting during the first half of the 15th century soon disappeared from the Turkman style, the tradition was kept very much alive by



FIG 32 Solomon and the Queen of Sheba
Poems by Farid al-Dīn 'Aḡḡār. 20.8 x 30.5 cm.
Persian, south provincial style, Shiraz (?),
1472. Or. 4151 (92b)

artists who moved from Herat to Shiraz in the early 1460s to work for Pīr Būdāq and who remained there after his death to enjoy the patronage of Khalīl (d. 1478). An interesting group of manuscripts dated variously between 1471 and 1479 include miniatures in a similar style to those of the 1421 Herat Nizāmī (or. 13802) (FIG 23). These artists, painting in the more traditional and elegant style, must have worked side by side with the Turkman artists for a British Library *Khamsa* of Nizāmī (Or. 2931) dated 1474-5 has miniatures in the earlier style while others (illustrating Bahrām Gūr's visits to the seven pavilions) are Turkman paintings. Khalīl no doubt took over Pīr Būdāq's library, for the manuscript *Hazine* 761 was completed by order of Khalīl in 1476 for his father, Uzūn Ḥasan. The group of manuscripts illustrated in the elegant style coincides with the period of Khalīl (d. 1478) and his young brother Ya'qūb, who died in Tabriz in 1491. Unfortunately these manuscripts rarely supply details of calligrapher or place of copying. However, two of them, British Library MS. Add. 6619 dated 1471-2 and Freer Gallery 49-3 dated 1477-8, both give the calligrapher's name as Murshid. Both are copies of *Mīhr u Mushtarī* and the Freer colophon includes 'at Shiraz'. The quality of the superb illumination and of the miniatures in two other British Library manuscripts, a copy of the poems of 'Aḡḡār (Or. 4151) dated 1472-3 (FIG 32) and a *Khamsa* of Nizāmī (Or. 2931) of 1474-5, would point to the same provenance, Shiraz, and almost certainly to the patronage of Khalīl⁽⁷⁾.



PLATE 5 Sa'di and his opponent seeking advice
after their quarrel
Gulistan of Sa'di. 10.5 x 8.2 cm.
Court Turkman style, circa 1460. Or. 13949 (gob)



PLATE 6 Chessplayers
Anthology. 12 x 7.5 cm. Shirvan (Shamakha),
1468. Add. 16561 (36b)



PLATE 7 The fire ordeal of Siyāvush
Shāhnāma of Firdawsī. 29 × 18 cm.
 Court Turkman style, 1486. Add. 18188 (37b)



PLATE 8 Battle between the armies of Darius and Alexander the Great.
 By Bihzād *Khamsa* of Nizāmī. 15 × 8.5 cm.
 Herat, MS dated 1442, miniature added *circa* 1493. Add. 25900 (231b)

FIG 33 Dīndār giving advice to Jalāl
Dāstān-i Jamāl u Jalāl by Āsafī. 27 × 17 cm.
 Persian, Tabriz style, 1502-3. Uppsala
 University Library, O Nova 2



A very important manuscript now in the Topkapı Sarayı Library, a *Khamse* of Nizāmī (H 762), was commissioned by Khalīl in 1475 at Shiraz. After his father's death in 1478 Khalīl went to Tabriz and claimed the succession in opposition to Uzūn Ḥasan's wish that his other son, Ya'qūb should succeed. Khalīl was killed after only eight months and was succeeded by Ya'qūb. Khalīl must have taken the manuscript (Hazine 762) to Tabriz from Shiraz as work was continued on it under the patronage of Ya'qūb who ruled there until his death in 1491. It was not even finished then, for miniatures were added at the Tabriz academy of Shah Ismā'īl very early in the 16th century. They bear a strong resemblance to paintings in the manuscript of *Jamāl u Jalāl* in Uppsala (O Nova 2) (FIG 33) which was copied in 1502-3 and in which two of the paintings bear a date 1503-4. The similarity is sufficient to suggest that both manuscripts were probably illustrated by the same artists. The red Safavid turban worn by pages and servants and the 'batons' in the more conventional turbans were introduced by Shah Ismā'īl in the early 16th century. Another convention is the collection of separate leopard tails hanging below the horses' necks which, in later paintings, joined up to form a single 'plume'. The separate leopard tails also occur in the early paintings in the magnificent *Shāhnāma* produced at Tabriz *circa* 1525-37 which owe a great deal to these particular miniatures. The Turkman flamboyance of windswept trees, lush vegetation, vivid warm colours, and exquisite design of carpet and canopy occur in both the Istanbul Nizāmī and the Uppsala *Jamāl u Jalāl*. The more dramatic incidents concerned with demons and angels which predominate in the *Jamāl u Jalāl*, re-emerge in the great Houghton *Shāhnāma* with even more verve.

The superb miniatures connected with the Safavid Tabriz academy would not have developed as they did, however, had it not been for the resurgence of painting and the emergence of Bihzād and other fine artists under the inspired patronage of Sultan Ḥusayn at Herat in the late 15th century. Between the death of Shāhrukh in 1447 and the establishment of Sultan Ḥusayn Bāyqarā as a patron, very little of note had been produced at Herat. All this was to change during the years of patronage of Sultan Ḥusayn for Herat remained under Timurid rule until his death in 1506. Poet and artist himself, a patron of historians and men of letters, he maintained a brilliant court. His academy with its large staff of artists, calligraphers and other craftsmen of the book produced manuscripts which were unsurpassed in quality. A manuscript of his own poems which was prepared for him, the *Divān-i Ḥusaynī* (Topkapı Sarayı EH 1636) is dated 1492 when his academy was at its peak and includes a painting of him being presented with a book, presumably his own *Divān*. He is receiving it from the head of his academy, possibly the artist Mirak, while a calligrapher, an artist and an illuminator are working nearby (FIG 79).

The literary circle at the court of Sultan Ḥusayn was justly famous. Mīr 'Alī Shīr Navā'ī (d. 1500), the creator of Turki poetry and a boyhood friend of Sultan Ḥusayn, was his vizier and a patron in his own right. Other famous men such as the historians Mirkhvānd and Khvāndamīr and the poet Jāmī, all enjoyed Sultan Ḥusayn's patronage. Sultan Ḥusayn, who died in 1506 while on his way to confront the Uzbek invader Shaybānī Khān, was succeeded by his son Badī' al-Zamān who was the last Timurid in Iran. Badī' al-Zamān was defeated by Shaybānī Khān and, like artists and others from Herat, fled to Shah Ismā'il in Tabriz. He finally went to Istanbul as a prisoner of Salīm where he died in 1517.

The stability provided by the comparatively long period of Sultan Ḥusayn's reign was conducive to the development of artists and of the production of fine manuscripts. Kamāl al-Dīn Bihzād, who was recognised as a great artist in his own lifetime, was brought up by Mirak, himself a fine artist and head of Sultan Ḥusayn's academy. Bihzād was thus steeped in the tradition of Persian painting and, whilst retaining the best of that tradition, introduced the open composition and a more subtle range of colours into his work. By clearing the horizon of figures, he focused the attention on the main activity and, in particular, on the principal figure. By treating even the minor characters as individuals, each separately and individually occupied one from the other, he brought life and movement to compositions such as the painting of the battle between Alexander the Great and Darius (PLATE 8) and the building of the great mosque at Samarkand (FIG 34). Sultan Ḥusayn's reign was also notable for the work of other artists such as Qāsim 'Alī (a pupil of Bihzād), of Bihzād's own mentor Mirak and of 'Abd al-Razzāq. Bihzād moved to Tabriz after Shaybānī Khān's death in 1510, when Herat ceased to be a centre of art under the Uzbeks who moved their capital to Bukhara. Bihzād became head of the Tabriz academy and died *circa* 1525.

The British Library has two noted manuscripts of the *Khamṣa* of Nizāmī which contain miniatures by Bihzād. One of these manuscripts (Or. 6810) bears an inscription on a painting of Iskandar and the seven sages, which gives the date 900/



FIG 34 Building the mosque at Samarkand. By Bihzād
Zafarnāma by Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī. Persian, Later Herat style, circa 1480(?).
Walters Art Gallery, T.L.6. 1950 (3602)

1494-5. Unfortunately attributions written below most of the miniatures which ascribe paintings variously to Bihzād, Mīrak, Qāsim 'Alī and 'Abd al-Razzāq cannot be taken seriously as more than one name sometimes occurs on a single painting. The lovely miniature of Farhād visiting Shīrīn (PLATE 9) bears attributions to both Mīrak and to 'Abd al-Razzāq. The inscription above, written in gold on a dark blue background, states that the manuscript was written for the library of 'Alī Fārsī Barlās, a nobleman in the service of Sultan Ḥusayn. This manuscript was in the Mughal Library having been taken to India at some stage.

The other manuscript (Add. 25900) of the *Khamṣa* of Nizāmī in the British Library which contains paintings by Bihzād was copied and illuminated in Herat in 1442 but includes only one miniature (folio 41a) contemporary with the text. The other eighteen were added later, one of them (folio 77b) bearing the date 1492-3. This manuscript measures only 19 × 11.5 centimetres and is written in exquisite *nasta'liq*. Besides miniatures in the early and later Herat styles of 1442 and 1493, it contains others added at Tabriz in *circa* 1535 and must have made the long journey from Herat to Tabriz when the artists moved early in the 16th century. Three of the miniatures bear the signature of Bihzād written, in a minute hand, sideways between the lines of poetry. It appears above the battle between the armies of Alexander the Great and Darius (folio 231b) (PLATE 8). This scene admirably illustrates Bihzād's skill in rendering every figure in a crowded composition as an individual and in conveying the fury of battle. It also provides, albeit on a very small scale, an incredible amount of detail and when looked at through a magnifier is a remarkable study in weapons, in armour of man and horse, in musical instruments and in the different colours of horses – skewbald, piebald, roan, chestnut, black and bay. Similarly, in the same manuscript, Bihzād's painting of the battle between tribesmen conveys the variations in the colour of camels, besides giving an impression of the method of warfare of their riders, wheeling round each other in great circles (folio 121b). Bihzād uses a wide variation of colour ranging from pale to deep, particularly green, red and blue. Proof of his influence on later painting, were such proof required, is to be found in a manuscript of the *Khamṣa* of Nizāmī dated Tabriz, 1524-5. This manuscript, now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (13.228.7)⁽⁶⁾ also includes, as do so many copies of the *Khamṣa*, a painting of the battle (FIG 35) between Darius and Alexander the Great (folio 279a). The artist must surely have had Bihzād's painting before him as the groups of horsemen and of soldiers fighting on foot in the foreground of each painting are identical (PLATE 8 and FIG 35). The Tabriz artist, who has naturally added such Safavid details as the 'baton' and plumes in the turbans, has omitted the standard bearer and musicians, and has lost, too, the genius of Bihzād, for this is a rigid, simplified and stylised version of what was, in the original, a spirited, colourful, noisy and crowded *melée*.

A manuscript of the *Zafarnama* in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore (Princeton University Library, T.L.6. 1950)⁽⁷⁾ is dated 872/1467 and contains miniatures added at a later date. They are not signed but are in the best style of the artists of the Herat academy of Sultan Ḥusayn, to whom the manuscript is dedicated, particularly Bihzād. Exhibiting all the characteristics of his work, *viz.* individuality, movement,

FIG 35 Battle between Alexander the Great and Darius
Khamsa of Nizāmī, 31.8 × 21.8 cm. Persian,
 Tabriz style, 1525. Metropolitan
 Museum of Art, 13-338-7 (2792)



and a wide range of colours subtly used, they have been generally considered the work of Bihzād for centuries, for Jahāngīr added a note to the manuscript to that effect in 1605, the year he succeeded his father, the great Mughal patron Akbar. Jahāngīr states that they were the work of the early period of Bihzād but how early is not known. The manuscript was a gift to the Mughal emperor Akbar by Mir Jamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn Injū who went to India from Shiraz and was in the service of Akbar and Jahāngīr. Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī relates in the *Zafarnāma* (Book of Victories), his history of Timūr, that the latter took elephants back to Samarkand from India which were employed in carrying stones from the quarries for the buildings being erected in Samarkand.

Clavijo, envoy of Henry III of Castill, who wrote of his experiences at Samarkand which he reached in 1403, was particularly impressed by the elephants and the way they were controlled by the use of the ankus.⁽¹⁰⁾ Clavijo gives a wonderful account of the splendour of the tents and the pavilion, of the ornaments and hangings, of feasting and drinking, and of elephants and their howdahs, of clothes, of behaviour and protocol at Samarkand. The elephant, carrying a great block of stone on its back and ridden by a dark-faced rider (FIG 34), is so well-drawn that the artist must have seen one. It is possible that Sultan Ḥusayn had an elephant at Herat as exotic beasts were popular presents, Timūr himself having been sent a giraffe in 1403 by the Mamluk ruler, Nāsir al-Dīn Faraj. This miniature is an interesting study of stonemasons at work, employing methods still in use today to split the blocks and to chisel

and engrave. As in the battle scene (PLATE 8), everyone is fully occupied and every face is a separate portrait. The second painting of this double-page composition shows mortar being mixed, slabs put in place and a man mounting a ladder carrying a container of mortar. Bihzād painted another building scene illustrating men working on the walls of the palace of Khavarnaq built for Bahrām Gūr (FIG 36), which is one of the illustrations in the 1494 *Khamṣa* of Nizāmī (Or. 6810, folio 154 verso). The exceptionally fine brickwork of the *Zafarnāma* painting occurs again in this miniature in which the workmen are making and laying bricks and tiles. Mortar, which is being mixed in the foreground, is hauled up in a container by means of a rope or carried by men up a ladder. Other builders work from scaffolding formed from tree branches bound together by a blue and white rope; every workman is an individual in his own right and fully occupied.

The *Zafarnāma* contains six double-page paintings of which one pair illustrates the attack on Khiva. The right-hand illustration, which is of the attacking army, is an earlier, and more simple, version of the Bihzād 1493 miniature of the battle of Darius and Alexander the Great (Add. 25900) (PLATE 8) and it is possible to see how Bihzād developed his theme from this earlier composition, producing a far more sophisticated and lively painting. The Safavid artists, although copying his work, lacked the genius of Bihzād and were singularly unsuccessful in bringing the characters to life, reducing the composition to a stylised derivative version of the original. In spite of their technical perfection, some Safavid paintings produced during the reign and patronage of Shah Tahmāsp at Tabriz became somewhat stylised in character and repetitive in choice of subjects. The earlier miniatures in the Houghton *Shāhnāma* retain the flamboyance and warmth of the metropolitan Turkman style and also the influence of Bihzād for he was head of the Tabriz academy working with artists who included his own pupils such as Qāsim 'Alī who probably contributed to the manuscript.

The work of Herat artists and illuminators was to have a far-reaching influence even on artists working at centres of art considerably more humble than that of the great Safavid patrons at Tabriz. Herat manuscripts rather than artists found their way to Mandu in central India and to Transoxiana (FIG 37) where illustrated works were commissioned by the local patrons. Artists and manuscripts were sent to Bukhara by the Shaybānīd Uzbeks after they conquered Herat and moved their new capital to Bukhara. In turn in the mid-16th century, artists went to India (PLATE 34) to work for the Mughal emperors, as indeed they did from Tabriz (FIG 43) at about the same period. Herat influence is discernible in late 16th-century Turkish painting (PLATE 24), similarly derived from Herat manuscripts which were taken from Tabriz during the Ottoman raids in the first half of the century.

The British Library has an interesting and stylistically rare copy of the *Shāhnāma* (Or. 13859)⁽¹¹⁾ of which the latter part of the manuscript, which might have included a colophon, is unfortunately missing. It contains miniatures by two artists, the work of one of whom, who is responsible for eighteen of the twenty-eight miniatures, is influenced by Herat work. The miniatures are also important because they are in a style (FIG 37) which foreshadows that of mid-16th-century Bukhara, forming a

FROM SHĀHRUKH TO ISMĀ'IL, 1447-1500

FIG 36 Building the palace of Khavarnaq
Khamsa of Nizāmī. 15 × 14.5 cm. Persian,
Later Herat style, 1493-4. Or. 6810 (154b)



FIG 37 Bahrām Gūr demonstrating his
marksmanship
Shāhnāma of Firdawsī. 12 × 16.5 cm.
Persian, Transoxiana, circa 1500.
Or. 13859 (304b)



definite link between both styles. Another manuscript, illustrated in the same style and which is in Istanbul, of the *Khamsa* of Nizāmī⁽¹²⁾ (Revan 863), may well have been done for the same patron. It bears a colophon giving the date 906/1501 and contains eighteen miniatures in a somewhat more finished style than those in the British Library manuscript. It was usual for most patrons of artists, whether they were kings or provincial governors, to commission illustrated copies of the *Shāhnāma* and the *Khamsa* of Nizāmī. This fact allied to the similarity of the style of the paintings in both manuscripts, points to the same provincial patron. The comparative simplicity of the British Library *Shāhnāma* miniatures would place them somewhat earlier than those in the 1501 Topkapı Sarayı Nizāmī (Revan 863) but they do share unusual and distinctive characteristics, in particular the band round the hair of the women and the bold brushstrokes used to depict rocks. Piebald horses are also a feature of both manuscripts as they were of later Bukhara works. The prevalence of piebald horses in Herat and Bukhara paintings may stem from the fact that Tīmūr had been presented with one which became his favourite mount. It was mentioned by Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī in the *Zafarnāma* and miniatures in illustrated copies of that work from the 1430s onwards always include such horses.

Another feature of the Transoxiana *Shāhnāma* paintings is the use of plants dotted about the landscape, as they are in Turkman miniatures, with the difference that the flowers are long-stemmed. These are derived from Herat originals and also occur in Indian Sultanate miniatures in the *Bustān* of Sa'dī which is illustrated by paintings inspired by Herat work and is contemporary with the Transoxiana *Shāhnāma*. These plants with flowers on long stems occur regularly in landscapes in mid-16th-century Bukhara paintings.

The *Shāhnāma* has certain peculiarities which are unique to this style of painting, including heads which are flat with very little brow and with raised eyebrows which give the faces an air of perpetual surprise. In the true tradition of provincial artists subjects have been interpreted with originality. The *simurgh*, the mythical bird, has drifted far from its Chinese phoenix origins resembling (folio 230b) a pigeon with long tail-feathers. Lions are given startling round white eyes with pin-point pupils (folio 229a) and dragons are festooned with ribbons (folio 208a).

(1) B.W. Robinson, *Persian Paintings in the India Office Library*, 1976, pp. 17-22.

(2) N.M. Titley, 'A *Khamsa* of Nizāmī dated Herat, 1421,' *British Library Journal*, Vol. 4 (2), Autumn 1978.

(3) J. Stchoukine, *Les peintures des manuscrits de la 'Khamsa' de Nizāmī au Topkapı Sarayı Mûzesi d'Istanbul*, Paris, 1977, pp. 64-68, PLATES XXXIX-XLJ.

(4) *Ibid.*, PLATE XLI (a).

(5) B.W. Robinson, *Persian Miniature Painting from collections in the British Isles*, 1967, p. 87.

(6) B.W. Robinson, 'The Dunimārī Shāhnāma: A Timurid Manuscript from Mazandaran,' *Aus der Welt der Islamischen Kunst. Festschrift Ernst Kühnel*, pp. 207-218.

(7) N.M. Titley, 'Shiraz and Isfahan: Persian miniatures of the 1470s,' *Oriental Art*, Vol. XX (1), Spring, 1974.

(8) P.J. Chelkowski, P.P. Soucek and R. Ertinghausen, *Mirror of the Invisible World*, New York, 1975.

(9) T.W. Arnold, *Bikārd and his paintings in the Zafar-nāmah MS*, London, 1930.

(10) C.R. Markham, *Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy González de Clavijo to the Court of Timour at Samarcand, A.D. 1403-6*, London, 1859.

(11) N.M. Titley, 'A *Shāhnāma* from Transoxiana,' *British Library Journal*, Vol. 7 (2), Autumn 1981, pp. 158-171.

(12) J. Stchoukine, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-6, PLATES LV-LVI.

The early Safavid period, Tabriz and Bukhara

After the death of Sultan Ḥusayn in 1506 and the capture of Herat by the Uzbeks led by Shaybānī Khān, Tabriz became the main centre of book production and miniature painting in Iran. Artists, calligraphers, illuminators and other craftsmen associated with the making of fine books began to migrate there from Herat to work for Shah Ismā'īl. Some artists and craftsmen working on manuscripts remained at Herat, while others were taken by the Uzbeks to work at Bukhara. A very fine manuscript, which has no miniatures but in which every page is decorated with exquisite coloured border designs of arabesques incorporating flowers, and dated at Herat, 1527, is proof that Herat managed to maintain a fine standard. The manuscript, a copy of *Gūy u Chawgān* (the Ball and the Polo Stick) by 'Arifī (d. *circa* 1449), is in the Chester Beatty Library (P. 194). The governorship of Herat was constantly changing, between the Safavid and Uzbek rulers, right up to the time of Shah 'Abbās (d. 1629), and beyond. In 1527 Herat was once more under Safavid rule, governed by a young prince who came under the guardianship of a leading member of the Shāmlū tribe. The Shāmlū were one of the Turkman tribes, ardent supporters of Shah Ismā'īl, and who were known as the *qizilbāsh* (red-heads) from the red cap with twelve folds which they wore. The *qizilbāsh* were later to gain a stranglehold over the affairs of Iran which was only broken by the new system of using Georgians and Circassians (*ghulām* or slave) as soldiers established by Shah 'Abbās (d. 1629). The latter, as a young boy, was sent as ruler of Herat in 1576 under the guardianship of a Shāmlū military leader. At the end of the 16th and well into the 17th century Shāmlū noblemen became governors of Herat in their own right, and the city once more became a leading centre of book production⁽¹⁾ particularly under the patronage of Ḥusayn Khān Shāmlū (d. 1618) (FIG 44) and his son Ḥasan (d. 1640).

To go back to the beginning of the 16th century, among the artists who were still at Herat when the city was threatened in 1506 by the Uzbeks, was Mirak, the head of Sultan Ḥusayn's library, who had adopted and brought up Bihzād, but he died there in 1507. Qāsim 'Alī, a pupil of Bihzād, whose work is represented in manuscripts produced for Sultan Ḥusayn at Herat, was one of the artists who went to Tabriz. The exquisite illustrations to a 1521 manuscript in the Saltykov Schedrin Public Library, Leningrad, of the history of the Imāms are attributed to him⁽²⁾. Qāsim 'Alī almost certainly worked on the Houghton *Shāhnāma*, for some of the paintings in the Leningrad manuscript include the glorious swirling multi-coloured clouds used to such effect in the *Shāhnāma* painting (folio 37b) of Zuhāk being chained alive to Mount Damavand. Architectural designs with their glowing ceramic tiles are similar

in both manuscripts as seen in the Houghton *Shāhnāma* painting of Zuhhāk hearing the interpretation of his dream (folio 29b)⁽³⁾. According to Muḥammad Ḥaydar Dughlat⁽⁴⁾ Qāsim 'Alī was a portrait painter and a pupil of Bihzād but his works were 'rougher than those of Bihzād'. Qāsim 'Alī is one of the several Herat artists to whom miniatures in the 1494 *Khamṣa* of Nizāmī (Or. 6810) are confusingly attributed. His name also occurs in the 1485 Herat *Ṣadd-i Iskandar* in the Bodleian Library (MS. Elliot 339, folio 95b).

Shah Ismā'il entered Tabriz in 907/1501 and had himself crowned as the first Shah of the Safavid dynasty. Historically and nationalistically this was an event of immense importance to Iran as, under the rule of Ismā'il, the country became a national state for the first time since the Arab invasions and the fall of the Iranian Sasanian dynasty in the 7th century. Shah Ismā'il was a patron of book production from the earliest years of his reign. Miniatures known to have been painted at Tabriz in *circa* 1503-4 are contained in a manuscript of the romantic poem *Jamāl u Jalāl* by Āṣafī (Uppsala University Library (O Nova 2) (FIG 33)⁽⁵⁾, and are in the same style as others in the copy of the *Khamṣa* of Nizāmī in Istanbul (Topkapı Sarayı Revan 862), the same artists being apparently responsible for certain miniatures in each manuscript. These paintings, which include the Safavid red cap with its tall 'baton', are in the swashbuckling metropolitan Turkman style, distinguishable by its windswept trees, swirling clouds, landscapes filled with flowering plants, gloriously decorated architecture and exquisite designs on carpets and canopies. The vivid warm colours and lively interpretation of stories which were evident, earlier, in the 1486 metropolitan Turkman *Shāhnāma* (Add. 18188) (PLATE 7) are seen to great advantage in such paintings as Rustam sleeping while Rakhsh attacks a marauding lion (FIG 38) and in the *Jamāl u Jalāl* paintings⁽⁶⁾. The famous Rustam painting (British Museum 1948-12-11-023) (FIG 38), the work of a master, is a forerunner of the early miniatures in the Houghton *Shāhnāma*. The delicate colours, rocks ornamented by faces, the tactile quality of the tigerskin, trees blown by the wind, blue clouds against the gold of the sky, all re-emerge in the 1520s. By that time Herat artists had joined the Tabriz studios, migrating there after the death of Sultan Ḥusayn in 1506. The result of the fusion of the Turkman and Herat styles, of the work of the finest artists, was an explosion of supremely decorative and romantic painting with composition, line and colour complementing the wordplay, nuances and vivid descriptive narrative of the epics and romantic poems they illustrate, in a style perfectly matched to the subject, whether poignant, violent, tender, regal, romantic or heroic.

In his account of past and present painters, Dust Muḥammad calls the great artist Sulṭān Muḥammad 'the zenith of the age'⁽⁷⁾. Signed examples of his work occur in the British Library's *Khamṣa* of Nizāmī of 1539-43 (Or. 2265) (PLATE 10) and several can be attributed to him in the Houghton *Shāhnāma* (FIG 39) which Dickson and Welch have studied in depth and which has been extensively published. Miniatures from both these remarkable manuscripts were on exhibition in London, Washington and Boston in 1979-80, the first time they had been brought together since leaving Shah Tahmāsp's studios in the 16th century⁽⁸⁾. Dust Muḥammad, writing of Āqā Mirak and Mir Muṣavvir, says they painted in the royal library and illustrated a royal *Shāhnāma*



FIG 38 Rakhsh killing a lion while Rustam sleeps
Shāhnāma painting, 31.8 × 20.8 cm. Persian, Court Turkman, late 15th century.
 British Museum, 1949-12-11-023

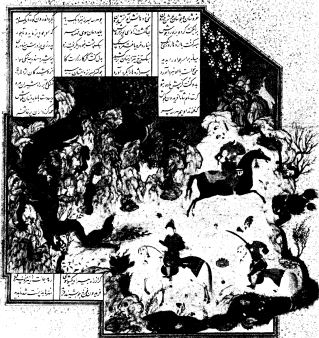


FIG 39 Faridun in the guise of a dragon testing his sons
Houghton *Shāhnāma* (42b). 29.2 × 28.3 cm. Persian, Tabriz, *circa* 1535. Private Collection

and a *Khamsa* of Nizāmi. It is remarkable that both these manuscripts are still extant even though the former is, unfortunately, no longer all in one piece. One of the few signed miniatures in the *Shāhnāma* (folio 521b) is by Dust Muḥammad himself, and is a painting of the spinning girl discovering the worm in her apple. It is a strange composition (*Wonders of the Age*, p. 99), of which a Mughal copy exists,⁽⁹⁾ and has been drawn in three layers, rocks in the background, a building akin to a theatre set in the centre, with rocks and pasture in the foreground. In his treatise, Dust Muḥammad writes of a painting by Sulṭān Muḥammad in 'a *Shāhnāma*' of people dressed in leopard skins which was 'such that the hearts of the boldest of painters were grieved and they hung their heads in shame before it'. No doubt this is the matchless painting, at the beginning of the Houghton *Shāhnāma*, of Gayūmarš the first of the legendary kings of Iran who clothed himself and his people in skins, and whom, strangely enough, even the animals revered.

Cary Welch attributes several Houghton *Shāhnāma* paintings to Sulṭān Muḥammad including that of Faridūn in the guise of a dragon, testing his sons' courage, commonsense and intelligence before he divided his kingdom among them (FIG 39). This marvellous painting shows the dragon winding its body round the mountain crags to burst out, breathing flames, near the horsemen. Of the three sons thus confronted, while riding home after their search for wives in the Yemen, Salm, without more ado, turned his horse and galloped away, Tūr drew his sword in what would have been a hopeless attack, but the youngest, Irāj, quietly sat on his horse and asked the dragon what chance of success it would have in a fight against the sons of the great warrior Faridūn. Irāj, as a result of his brave conduct and commonsense, was given Iran as his share of Faridūn's kingdom but was later murdered by his jealous brothers, an act which was to start the wars between Iran and Turan, a theme which henceforth runs through the *Shāhnāma*, providing material for the many miniatures of battle scenes.

The Houghton *Shāhnāma*, which originally contained over two hundred and fifty miniatures, was begun in the lifetime of Shah Ismā'il (d. 1524) and completed in *circa* 1537 under the patronage of Shah Tahmāsp, the latter being the sole patron of the Nizāmi manuscript which is dated 1539-43. The *Shāhnāma* was presented to the Ottoman Sultan Salim II by Shah Tahmāsp in 1568, while the *Khamsa* of Nizāmi remained in the Iranian royal library until the 19th century. Shah Tahmāsp, who had lost interest in painting by the mid-16th century, was generous in his gifts of albums to the Ottoman Sultans as the libraries of the Topkapı Sarayı and Istanbul University bear witness. He also sent an album to Murād III in 1574 which includes beautiful animal paintings, illustrations of the *Kalīla va Dīmna* fables which appear to be much earlier Tabriz work, dating from the 14th century. Also included in the album are two of the great *Shāhnāma* paintings; one is of Rustam's quarrel with Kay Kā'ūs and the other, which is unfinished, is of Rustam in bed, propped up on his elbow, seeing Tahmīna for the first time.

Shah Tahmāsp, who was born in 919/1514, had succeeded his father Shah Ismā'il in 1524 when only ten years old. In 1516 when he was two, he had been sent to Herat as nominal governor under the guardianship of a *lālā* (military leader) until 1522 when

he returned to Tabriz. Although only eight years old by then, the six years he spent at Herat, at a time when the great Bihzād was still there, must have inspired the young Tahmāsp with the love of painting and calligraphy which was to ensure that he continued to patronise the academy previously maintained by his father, with its staff which included famous artists, illuminators and calligraphers.

The Tahmāsp *Khamsa* of Nizāmī (Or. 2265) has long been one of the treasures of the manuscript collections of, firstly, the British Museum by whom it was acquired in 1881, and, secondly, the British Library, to which it passed with the rest of the collections of the Department of Oriental Manuscripts and Printed Books in 1973. Like the *Shāhnāma*, the manuscript has been the sole subject of a study⁽¹⁰⁾ as well as being an indispensable part of most general works on Persian painting throughout the 20th century. Nevertheless, the original manuscript is so splendid that reproductions can never do it full justice. The fine polished paper, illuminated title pages, headings and verse divisions, the paintings in gold on the borders of every page (FIG 81) the perfect *nasta'liq* calligraphy of the royal scribe, Shāh Maḥmūd Nishāpūrī, and the miniatures by Shah Tahmāsp's leading artists (PLATE 10) (FIG 43) have combined to produce a work whose perfection and sheer beauty never ceases to astound and delight, no matter how many times one has been fortunate enough to look at it. This manuscript was to be the last major work of the Tabriz academy as, after Tahmāsp's interest in painting waned, the Mughal emperor Humāyūn, who spent a year (1544) in Iran, was able to persuade artists to join him at Kabul and eventually to go to India.

The fourteen contemporary miniatures include three without either signature or attribution (folios 18a, 26b and 195a) but the other eleven give the names of the artists, of which Aqā Mirak (not to be confused with Bihzād's guardian and mentor, Mīrak) painted five (folios 15b, 57b, 60b, 66b and 166a). The artist Muẓaffar 'Alī contributed a miniature (folio 211a) which illustrates one of the feats of marksmanship performed by Bahrām Gūr to impress the maiden Fitna. Muẓaffar 'Alī must have been a young man at the time of the completion of the Nizāmī in 1543 because he contributed a miniature to a copy of the *Garshāspnāma* in the British Library (Or. 12985, folio 5a) which was produced at Qazvin thirty years later in 1573. His Nizāmī composition, on three planes, is simple in conception. The painting includes Bahrām Gūr, two wild asses and a startled gazelle in the foreground while in the centre Fitna, her piebald horse held by a young page, is playing a harp. This composition is somewhat similar to that painted by Sulṭān Muḥammad (PLATE 10). A large plane tree, on the left of which is the attribution to Muẓaffar 'Alī, is growing out of the bank of a central stream which runs down the centre of the painting to divide the background hills, rising right and left, against a pale blue sky. Bahrām Gūr, who is wearing the typical royal Safavid turban with a high red 'baton', an aigrette and three plumes, is in the likeness of Shah Tahmāsp. The same features are seen on the central figure in miniatures of battles, polo and celebrations at court in the Tahmāsp albums in the Topkapı Sarayı (Hazine 2161 and 2165) and also on the horseman in a painting on one of the Vienna playing cards⁽¹²⁾.

Iskandar Munshi⁽¹³⁾ said of Muẓaffar 'Alī that 'he was incomparable in his time and unique in his period' and 'with hair-splitting brush painted the portraits of models of

justice and was a pupil of Master Bihzād and had learned his craft in his service and had made progress to the height of perfection; all the incomparable masters, eminent portrait painters, acknowledged him to be unrivalled in that art; he was a fine painter and a matchless draughtsman'. Qāzī Aḥmad⁽¹⁴⁾ on the other hand says that it was Muzaḥḥār 'Alī's father, Rustam 'Alī, who was Bihzād's pupil which is more likely as Bihzād died *circa* 1525 and Muzaḥḥār 'Alī was still working some fifty years later in 1576, the year Tahmāsp died. However, Qāzī Aḥmad is as full of praise of Muzaḥḥār 'Alī as was Iskandar Munshī, saying 'he finally achieved such success that people considered him equal to Bihzād and he excelled in gold sprinkling and gilding and was outstanding in his time in colouring and lacquer-work. Few have been so versatile as he.' Mir Sayyid 'Alī (FIG 43) is represented by one painting (folio 157b) and Mirzā 'Alī and the great artist, Sulṭān Muḥammad, by two each. The painting by Sulṭān Muḥammad of Bahrām Gūr again showing off his marksmanship to the maiden Fitna (PLATE 10) demonstrates his ability to use landscape to give height and distance to a composition. Bahrām Gūr himself is the focal point, the central figure to whom all eyes are drawn as he discharges an arrow into the lion and its victim. Fitna is displaying the marked lack of interest which was to cost her so dear. The youth on the black horse, so absorbed he is allowing his flask to tilt at a dangerous angle, listens with rapt attention to the music. In the background, three of the king's hunting party are concerned with a dangerous wounded leopard, another looses his falcon at a partridge while the bear's attention, as it holds its rock aloft, is attracted by a rock formation like a human head. Fitna was so scornful about Bahrām Gūr's marksmanship, saying 'Practice makes perfect', that, infuriated, he flung her to the ground and rode over her, ordering his men to kill her. Sometime later when riding in the same region he was given hospitality by a local dignitary and was astonished to see a girl carrying a large ox on her shoulders as she climbed the steps up to the balcony where he was resting (PLATE 20). When he exclaimed at her strength, she said once more 'Practice makes perfect'. She told him she began by carrying a small calf, gradually gaining enough strength to carry a full-grown ox. Her name, Fitna, used in Niẓāmī's version, means 'mischief', but in the similar story in the *Shāhnāma*, she is called Āzāda and Bahrām Gūr is said to have killed her when he rode over her. This is one of the legends which figures on Sasanian metalwork in which Bahrām Gūr and Āzāda (still playing the harp) are usually mounted on the same camel.

Sulṭān Muḥammad was described by Dust Muḥammad as 'unique in the time, confidant of the Shah, unequalled as a painter and portraitist' and confirms that he and Mir Muḥavvīr worked on the *Shāhnāma* and the *Khamṣa*. Welch attributes the Houghton *Shāhnāma* painting of Farīdūn in the guise of a dragon, to Sulṭān Muḥammad (folio 42b) (FIG 39). Iskandar Munshī states⁽¹⁵⁾ that Āqā Mirak, the artist from Isfahan, was his (i.e. Shah Tahmāsp's) special friend and intimate boon companion'. Sulṭān Muḥammad referred to by Dust Muḥammad as 'the zenith of the age'⁽¹⁶⁾ is said by Iskandar Beg Munshī to have had Shah Tahmāsp as a pupil. Tahmāsp was very friendly with Bihzād, Āqā Mirak and Sulṭān Muḥammad and whenever he could spare time from his duties he would practice painting, though in the latter part of his reign he had less time (and inclination) to devote to art.

The Shah Tahmāsp Nizāmī remained in the royal library of Iran until well into the 19th century. Three paintings dated 1675–6 were added by Muḥammad Zamān in the late 17th century and the last of the great royal patrons of the book in Iran, Faṭḥ 'Alī Shāh, had it rebound in 1797 in lacquered covers painted with hunting scenes in which he figured as the central character⁽¹⁷⁾. Other illustrated manuscripts besides the de luxe copies of the *Shāhnāma* and the *Khamṣa* of Nizāmī were produced at Tabriz. The British Library has nine manuscripts, two undated, illustrated in a less sumptuous version of the Tabriz style which are, without exception, charmingly produced and illustrated. It is perhaps worth listing them as they make an interesting study on their own, showing as they do, glimpses of the greater glory of the luxurious royal *Shāhnāma* and *Khamṣa* of Nizāmī.

- 1 *Qirān al-Sa'dayn* by Amīr Khusrāw, containing one double-page and four single miniatures, probably all by Fakhr al-Dīn, *muṣaḥḥib-i Tabriz* whose signature appears on folio 95a. Undated. Stowe Or. 14.
- 2 *Husn u Dil*, an anonymous version of Fattāḥī's *Dastūr-i 'ushshāq*. One double-page and seven single miniatures. Undated. Or. 11843.
- 3 *Khamṣa* of Nizāmī. Sixteen miniatures. 936/1529. Add. 16780.
- 4 *Laylā va Majnūn* by Hātifi. Six miniatures. 938/1532. Add. 10586.
- 5 *Shāhnāma* by Firdawsī. Forty-eight miniatures (including one used for pouncing (folio 119b) FIG 71). PLATE 11. 942/1536. Add. 15531.
- 6 *Timūrnamā* by Hātifi. Three miniatures. 945/1538. Or. 2838.
- 7 *Shāhnāma*, a poetical history of Shah Ismā'il I by Qāsimī. Thirteen miniatures (PLATE 12). 948/1541. Add. 7784.
- 8 *Sultan Maḥmūd va Ayāz* by Šāfi. Six miniatures. 951/1544–5.
- 9 *Šifat al-'āshiqīn* and *Shāh u gudar* by Hilālī. Five miniatures and painted lacquered covers. 957/1550. This is dated after the move to Qazvin but the miniatures and binding (PLATE 47) are very much in the Tabriz style. Or. 4124.

The 1536 *Shāhnāma* (Add. 15531), in which there is a rare example of a miniature from which certain groups of figures have been used for pouncing (see pp. 216–8) (FIG 71), is illustrated by forty-six miniatures in the Tabriz style. The gold skies, the trees and plants, faces in the rocks and delicacy of line and colour are all apparent, albeit in somewhat simpler compositions, in which the miniatures only take up half the page. Amongst the battles of the Twelve Rukhs is one in which Gūdarz, having defeated Pirān, pursues him up a mountain (folio 223a) (PLATE 11), and the miniature displays Tabriz qualities both in design and in the faithful rendering of the story. For example, in trying to portray Firdawsī's description of the 'dart' used by Gūdarz, the artist drew a strange three-pronged dagger. Another manuscript (Add. 7784), misleadingly called the *Shāhnāma*, is a poetical history of Shah Ismā'il I by Qāsimī. Dated 1541, it includes thirteen miniatures in a lively style, such as the battle of Sharūr (folio 46b) in which the army of Shah Ismā'il defeated that of Alvand, an event which led to the conquest of Azerbaijan and the establishment of Shah Ismā'il at Tabriz. Shah Ismā'il is pursuing his enemy diagonally across the painting, forming, with the two horsemen in the foreground, an unusual zig-zag pattern (PLATE 12). The coloured clouds set against the gold sky are typical of Tabriz work, as are the plumes and red baton in Ismā'il's turban.

THE EARLY SAFAVID PERIOD, TABRIZ AND BUKHARA



PLATE 9 Farhad visiting Shirin
Khamsa of Nizami. 17.8 x 11.8 cm.
Herat, 1494-5. Or. 6810 (62b)

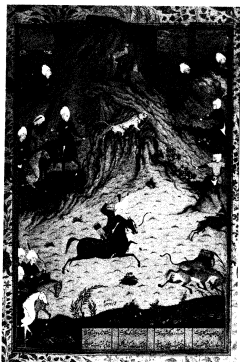


PLATE 10 Bahrām Gūr hunting lions.
By Sultān Muḥammad. *Khamsa* of Nizami.
30 x 18.8 cm. Tabriz, 1539-43. Or. 2265 (202b)



PLATE 11 Gudarz pursuing the fleeing
Pirān up a mountain
Shāhnāma of Firdawsī, 11.5 × 13.5 cm.
Tabriz style, 1536. Add. 15531 (223a)



PLATE 12 Shah Ismā'īl I defeating the ruler
of Shīrvān in battle
Poetical history of Ismā'īl I by Qāsimī.
15 × 11.2 cm. Tabriz style, 1541. Add. 7784 (46b)

Having reached the point, in 1548, when Shah Tahmāsp moved his capital from Tabriz further south to Qazvin in order to put more distance between himself and the threats of invasion and who had, anyway, become disenchanted with painting, it is a convenient juncture to consider other areas of book production in Iran. It has already been seen how, after Herat fell to the Uzbeks in 1507, artists moved to Tabriz and Bukhara. Artists from both these centres also went to India to work for Mughal patrons in the mid-16th century, taking manuscripts with them.

Known as *Mā varā'l-nahr* (the lands beyond the river, i.e. the Oxus), Transoxiana included the city of Bukhara, and miniatures in the Bukhara style are still usually referred to by Russian scholars as Mavarannahr paintings. Bukhara had been taken by the Uzbeks under Shaybānī Khān in 1500, before Herat fell to them, and, apart from losing it briefly to the Safavids in 1510 and again for a short time in 1740, it remained under Uzbek rule until it became part of Soviet Central Asia this century.

The early work of Bukhara, still strongly influenced by the artists and the illustrated manuscripts taken there, maintained much of the quality of Herat work. Paintings were similar to Herat compositions, with superb architectural details and illuminated designs within the miniatures. By the mid-16th century, isolated from other centres of the art of the book, Bukhara work was somewhat uninspired, reflecting the absence of new influences brought in by the interchange with artists from other areas. There was no lack of patronage in Bukhara, for successive Shaybānīd Uzbek rulers, 'Ubayd Allah ibn Maḥmūd (ruled 1553–40), 'Abd al-'Azīz Bahādur Khān (1540–1550), Yār Muḥammad (1550–1557) and 'Abd Allah ibn Iskandar (1557–78), were all patrons. Bukhara work of the period is distinct from other Persian styles of painting in the use of a limited range of strong colours. The background of a meadow landscape is invariably a very dark green, and crimson and deep blue are also much in use. Women's head-dresses are usually in the form of a tiara and an embroidered white headcloth (FIG 40), or the single ribbon similar to that seen in earlier Herat-inspired provincial Persian work (FIG 37). The background, whether desert or dark green meadow, is usually sprinkled with plants bearing long-stemmed flowers. Two artists who worked under 'Abd al-'Azīz (d. 1550) were Maḥmūd *Muṣaḥhib* and his pupil 'Abd Allah, the latter working as late as 1575. Both usually signed their work which was sometimes of figures, drawn singly or in pairs. Signed examples of the work of Maḥmūd occurs at the beginning of an anthology, Revan 1964 (folio 1b–2a) (FIG 40) in the Topkapı Sarayı Library. These miniatures are typical of the better work of mid-16th-century Bukhara painting and easily distinguished by the stocky figures of the women, whose oval faces are topped by tiaras and whose robes are beautifully decorated with arabesque designs. An undated manuscript in the India Office Library⁽¹⁸⁾ (MS. 1097) is crammed with over three hundred Bukhara paintings, ranging from houris wrapped in ribbons (another of these is found in the Topkapı Sarayı album, Hazine 2162 (folio 12b)) through stylised figures of men and angels, to crowded miniatures illustrating scenes from Jāmi's *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā* (Joseph and Potiphar's wife). The British Library collection has very few manuscripts which were illustrated and written in Bukhara, but it has one superb, if puzzling, copy of the *Gulistan* (Or. 5302) dated 1567–8 in the reign of 'Abd Allah ibn Iskandar (d. 1578) and has attributions in some miniatures to the artist Shaḥm (Shakhm?) (PLATE 34) who was probably working, still in the Bukhara style, in Mughal India. The copyist, who gives his name as Mir 'Alī al-Ḥusaynī *al-kātib al-Sultānī*, could not, in 1567, have been the famous Mir 'Alī al-Haravī who was forcibly taken to Bukhara from Herat in 1528 by 'Ubayd Allah Khān (d. 1539), a nephew of Shaybānī Khān whose army overran Herat in 1507. Although Mir 'Alī wrote a panegyric poem for 'Ubayd Allah⁽¹⁹⁾, he also wrote another poem expressing hatred of



FIG 40 Young women. Painted by Maḥmūd.
Anthology. 29.5 × 18.5 cm. Persian, Bukhara style, *circa* 1550. Topkapı Sarayı, Revan 1964 (2a)

his enforced stay in Bukhara, blaming his skill as a scribe as the cause of his misery 'Alas! mastery in calligraphy has become a chain on the feet of this demented one'⁽²⁰⁾. There seems to be some doubt about the actual year of Mir 'Alī's death, one source quoting 1535, another as late as 1558-9, but it is certain he was not still working in 1567. It is possible that the British Library's *Gulistān* and a companion volume of the *Bustān* of the same date (privately owned) found their way to Akbar's library where the Bukhara-trained artist Shāhm (PLATE 34) and, at a later date, Mughal artists added miniatures. The *Gulistān* bears dedicatory inscriptions to Akbar on the buildings in two of the paintings. These dedicatory inscriptions within miniatures are a useful characteristic of Bukhara work. Usually beautifully written in gold on an ornamented background they form a frieze running across a building, often giving both patron and date.

'Abd Allah ibn Iskandar died in 1578 and his successor, Pir Muḥammad, had only reigned two years before Bukhara came under the rule of the Jānīds of Astrakhan. Illustrated manuscripts were still being produced up to 1600 at Bukhara but compositions by that time were very simple. Their chief glory lay in the beautiful illuminated designs, whether on textiles, architecture, canopies, saddle cloths or quivers or on the text pages. Designs and techniques were inherited from late 15th-century Herat work and the Bukhara illuminators maintained a similar quality all through the 16th century. It is possible that illuminators who worked on the decoration of *'unwāns* (headings) and on title pages were also responsible for the illuminated designs within the miniatures, for the same patterns occurred on both.

(1) B. Schmitz, *Miniature Painting in Herat, 1570-1640*, thesis, New York University, May 1981.

(2) Six of these miniatures are reproduced in *Iranian Miniatures of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries from the art collections of Soviet Museums*, Leningrad, 1973.

(3) S.C. Welch, *The King's Book of Kings*, 1972, pp. 105 and 117.

(4) T. W. Arnold, 'Mirza Muhammad Haydar Dughlat on the Herat School of Painters,' *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* vol. V, Part IV, 1930.

(5) K. V. Zettersten and C. J. Lamon, *The story of Jamāl and Jalāl*, Uppsala, 1948.

(6) *ibid.*

(7) L. Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson and B. Gray, 'Dust Muhammad's account of Past and Present Painters,' *Persian Miniature Painting*, 1933.

(8) S.C. Welch, *Wonders of the Age*, Harvard, 1979.

(9) E. Kühnel and H. Goetz, *Indian Book Painting from Jahāngīr's Album in the State Library in Berlin*, London, 1926, PLATE 1.

(10) L. Binyon, *The Poems of Nizami*, London, 1928.

(11) S.C. Welch, *op. cit.*

(12) R. von Leyden and D. Duda, *Spieldarten-bilder in Persischen Lackmalereien der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, Vienna, 1981.

(13) T. W. Arnold, *op. cit.*

(14) V. Minorsky (trans.), *Calligraphers and Painters*, Washington, 1959.

(15) T. W. Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, 1928, repr. Dover Publications, 1965, p. 141.

(16) L. Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson and B. Gray, *op. cit.*

(17) B. W. Robinson, 'A pair of Royal Book covers' *Oriental Art* Vol. X, No. 1, Spring 1964, pp. 32-36.

(18) B. W. Robinson, *Persian Paintings in the India Office Library*, London, 1976, pp. 153-172, PLATE XIII.

(19) V. Minorsky, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

(20) *ibid.* p. 131.

Shiraz painting in the sixteenth century

During the first half of the 16th century, when Persian painting reached its peak under the patronage of Shah Tahmāsp, Shiraz in the south continued to be a centre of book production where its artists, original and independent, worked in their own markedly individual style. The exquisite miniatures illustrating manuscripts by 1505 were as different from the commercial Turkman style as the Muzaffarid had been from the Inju in the 14th century. As discussed in the chapter on Sultanate painting, this early 16th-century style influenced artists of Bengal in the same way that Turkman-imported manuscripts inspired those working at Mandu. This style of painting, which was far more elegant than that of the late 15th-century prosaic Turkman artists, was evolved in the early 16th century. Traces of it can be seen in illustrations to certain late Turkman manuscripts in which the heads, their faces distinguished by rosy cheeks and beady eyes, are set on longer necks and more elongated bodies. Two manuscripts in the Topkapı Sarayı demonstrate this transitional stage in a most interesting way. The earlier of the two (Hazine 1507), a *Shāhnāma* dated 1494, has just one miniature (folio 55a) out of the many illustrations, that of Zāl and Rūdāba, in which the latter has the 'apple-cheeks' face, which is the first hint of the individuality which was to be the hallmark of Shiraz painting, *circa* 1503–1516. The other manuscript (Hazine 784), a *Khamṣa* of Nizāmī dated 1503–4, has miniatures, some of which are typical Turkman paintings while others are in this Shiraz 'apple-cheek' style.

Another characteristic is the use of swirling clouds ending in a long winding ribbon which, in some paintings, has been transformed into a grey heron turning its neck to grasp the cloud above it with its long beak. The British Library has a *Gulistān* of Sa'dī with twelve charming miniatures (PLATE 13) (but no herons) in this 'apple-cheek' style, which is dated 919/1513. The collection also includes an illustrated manuscript of *Yūsuf u Zulaikḥā* (Joseph and Potiphar's wife) which was probably copied and illustrated for the Sultanate ruler of Bengal in *circa* 1508, in which the miniatures (PLATE 33, FIG 64) were inspired throughout by this Shiraz style and which has been discussed in the Sultanate section (pp. 182–3).

The painting of a young prince on his way to play polo, being waylaid by an infatuated man, illustrates the lively and delicate nature of these paintings (PLATE 13). The young attendant is anxiously looking up at the parasol he is holding to make sure it is shading his master, while two others chatter nearby as the prince leans forward on his horse to speak to his admirer. The high horizon, so typical of Shiraz work, and the deep blue sky with its wispy gold clouds form a simple



FIG. 41 The returned traveller discovering maidens playing in his garden
Khamsa of Nizami. 12 x 11 cm. Persian, Shiraz style, early 16th century.
 British Library, India Office Library, MS 387 (279a)

background to the fluttering group of nervy horses and astonished young attendants in the foreground. The elegant miniatures in this 1513 *Gulistan* have shed all the heaviness of figures and vegetation so characteristic of the earlier Turkman style, but an undated, probably earlier, *Khamsa* of Amir Khusraw in the India Office Library (MS 387) exhibits characteristics of both styles. In the illustration (FIG 41) to the story of the young man who returned home after a long absence to discover maidens playing in his garden, heavy Turkman-style vegetation covers the ground and even smothers the further wall. However, the elongated figures, the clouds and delightfully unconventional touches, such as the young man peering upside down

through the culvert, mark these miniatures as the immediate forerunners of those which illustrate the *Gulistan*.

Shah Ismā'il I, who was crowned at Tabriz in 1501, extended his rule to Fars, with its capital at Shiraz, in 1503, and throughout the 16th century this area prospered under Safavid rule. Shah Ismā'il was in Shiraz for some months in the winter of 1508–9 and probably took artists back to his academy at Tabriz, for some details in the early miniatures of the Houghton *Shāhnāma*, particularly that of Hūshang killing the Black Demon, are similar to those of the Shiraz style of painting seen in the *Gulistan* (Or. 11847) notably the clouds, the spindly-legged horses with startled eyes and the leopard tails or plumes hanging from the bridle cheek-straps. The triangular designs used as thumb and corner pieces, first seen a hundred years earlier, *circa* 1410–11, were still employed in the early 16th century (FIG. 41) as page decorations in Shiraz manuscripts and also appeared in Shiraz-inspired Sultanate work.

Two Shiraz authors whose works were copied and illustrated there throughout the 16th century were the poet Sa'di (d. 1292) and the historian Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī (d. 1454). The finest examples of dated Shiraz illustrated manuscripts in the British Library are copies of the works of these two authors and provide, in themselves, a study of the development of the Shiraz style of painting. The earliest is the *Gulistan* of Sa'di (Or. 11847) dated 919/1513 which is discussed above, the latest a copy of the *Gulistan* and *Bustān* (Or. 8754) dated 996/1587–8, with other manuscripts dated variously between them.

The style of Shiraz painting by 1523, the date of the earlier of the British Library's two illustrated copies of the *Zafarnāma* (Book of Victory) (Add. 7635), the history of Timūr completed in 1424–5 by Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī (d. 1454), had changed considerably from the earlier elegant 'apple-cheek' style of the 1513 *Gulistan*. While retaining the high horizon and the large cloud which ended in a ribbon, compositions have become stylised and somewhat static. Figures are almost always grouped in a similar way with onlookers crowding the horizon and foreground, while faces have lost their individuality, reverting to the expressionless features seen in earlier Turkman manuscripts. The miniatures in the 1523 *Zafarnāma* (Add. 7635) provide early examples of a style which continued until the 1560s without much change and are interesting for that reason and for the fact that mother-of-pearl is used to decorate the rocky ridges in outdoor scenes (folio 159b and 498a). Another illustrated manuscript of the *Zafarnāma* (Or. 1359), which is dated 950/1552, confirms the unchanging nature of Shiraz compositions over the period. This manuscript is distinguished by its contemporary covers, typical of the finest work of the Shiraz bookbinders who specialised in decorated doublures in which filigree designs cut out of gilded paper were stuck on a multicoloured background. Many copies of the *Zafarnāma* were produced in Shiraz in the first half of the 16th century. The author of the work, Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī, was a famous historian who, working under the patronage of Ibrāhīm Sultan (d. 1435), completed his history only twenty years after Timūr's death. According to Qāzī Aḥmad⁽¹⁾ Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī 'wrote this history at the desire, and with the help, support and encouragement of that numerous concourse of scholars and men of talent, who in those days were gathered for that

particular purpose in the service of the Mirzā (i.e. Ibrāhīm Sultan) in the royal city of Shiraz'. The incidents illustrated in the two British Library manuscripts in (1) Add. 7635 and (2) Or. 1359, besides the usual scenes of hunting, battles and celebrations, include less usual subjects such as in (1) a crier mounted on a mule calling to the people of Turshiz to surrender (folio 136b), soldiers drowning in wells during a battle (152a) and Timūr's army attacking a Caspian stronghold from boats (224b). In (2) rare subjects for illustration are of Timūr's son, Mirānshāh, after falling from his horse, an accident which left him mentally impaired (334a), Bayazid I brought before Timūr after the battle of Ankara in 1402 (413a) and the architect of the mosque at Samarkand (see FIG 34 for the building scene of that same mosque) hanged by order of Timūr who suspected him of flirting with Bibi Khānum (452b), Timūr's favourite wife. Both manuscripts include the building of towers of skulls at Herat (folios 326a and 120a respectively) and at Baghdad.

The custom of producing manuscripts for commercial purposes, already in full-swing in Shiraz in the late 15th century, continued throughout the first half of the 16th century. That these manuscripts were sent to India is apparent from three compositions illustrating the Deccani manuscript of the *Sindbād-nāma* in the India Office Library (Persian MS 3214) which was probably produced in Golconda, circa 1575⁽²⁾. From the middle of the 16th century, Shiraz manuscripts sometimes had a double-page frontispiece with (usually on the right) Solomon seated on his throne surrounded by animals and jinns while in the sky above him a huge flock of birds flew together to form a canopy to protect him from the sun. Slight variations occur; sometimes his wise counsellor Āṣaf is near him, sometimes the heron which disobeyed his orders or sometimes the demon which stole his ring. On the opposite page, the Queen of Sheba, Bilqīs, is usually being entertained (PLATE 14) by musicians and dancers while angels fly overhead. The Deccani *Sindbād-nāma* has a direct copy of a Shiraz original of such a double-page frontispiece and also a painting of a scene in a hammam (public baths) which also owes its origin to a commercial Shiraz miniature. It is difficult to ascertain which was the original of this composition as it occurs so often. Architectural details within the miniature may vary – for instance the cistern in the centre sometimes has channels – but the groups of figures are the same in all of them. This composition in Persian manuscripts usually illustrates the story of Hārūn al-Rashīd and the barber in the first poem, *Makhsūn al-asrār*, in the *Khamṣa* of Nizāmī and is to be seen in the following four Shiraz manuscripts, and probably many others:–

Chester Beatty P. 196, dated 1529,

Topkapı Sarayı, Hazine 765, dated 1538,

St John's College Library, Cambridge MS. 1434, dated 1540,

Freer Gallery of Art 08–261, dated 1548.

After 1560, whilst the variations in quality of Shiraz painting indicated a strong likelihood that manuscripts in some numbers were being produced commercially, some of superb quality have survived. Manuscripts were of larger format than previously, often with full-page compositions at the beginning and end and with many small paintings tucked into corners and borders round the text. The British

Library has a very fine copy of the *Kulliyât* (Collected Works) of Sa'dî dated 974/1566 with text in the borders as well as in the centre of the pages, and with over sixty small illustrations, in the best Shiraz style of this period, in the borders and corners of the pages wherever there is space. It has sumptuous illumination at the beginning on the title pages and as a border surrounding three sides of the double frontispiece of Solomon (2b) and the Queen of Sheba (3a) (PLATE 14). At the end there is another double-page painting (355b), similarly bordered, of dervishes dancing outside the tomb of Sa'dî at Shiraz and (356a) of a prince watching people bathing in the healing waters at Sa'dî's tomb during Nawrûz (New Year) celebrations. There was traditionally a pool of water which had healing properties and which contained sacred fish, at Sa'dî's tomb. The British Library has five other Shiraz manuscripts of the works of Sa'dî containing double-page paintings of these scenes, the *Kulliyât* dated 1566 being the earliest and a copy of the *Gulistân* and *Bustân* (Or. 8754) dated 996/1587-8 the latest.

The miniature of the Queen of Sheba (PLATE 14) kneeling on her throne with a galaxy of angels around and above her, is an example of the finest Shiraz style of painting of the 1560s. It has original and unusual features such as that in which one of the angels, who is flying above the throne, is carrying a duck in one hand and a knife in the other. The hoopoe, which acted as a messenger to carry letters between Bilqis and Solomon, and often appears in a miniature either perching on the throne of Bilqis or standing near her, here forms part of the throne as a gold figure perching on the pinnacle. The queen's retinue, besides the attendant angels, includes serving women, dancers and musicians. The name of the patron for whom this splendid manuscript was prepared is not given but an inscription states that the completion of copying was in the year 974/1566 and that of the decoration of the manuscript in 976/1568-9, some two years later.

Besides making use of space in the borders surrounding the central text for small miniatures, Shiraz artists allowed figures to overlap the ruled margins of their large, full-page compositions and to extend into the borders above and around the paintings. During the second half of the 16th century, even larger manuscripts were copied and illustrated with full-page paintings filled to overflowing with small figures. These huge volumes were produced in some numbers in Shiraz, at a time when further north at Qazvin, manuscripts, although similar in size, had compositions with far fewer and much larger figures. Shiraz artists also differed in making use of darker colours, in contrast to the almost pastel shades which, by 1600, were generally used in Isfahan work. Faces in Shiraz paintings became very stylised and easily recognisable with their prominent, bearded, chins. True to Shiraz tradition, manuscripts were also produced commercially in the second half of the 16th century, and, like those of earlier decades, included very stylised paintings, some of which were often downright bad. Commercial manuscripts in the style of the 1570s and '80s must have found their way to Turkey as Ottoman miniatures in a group of late 16th-century manuscripts on the history and martyrdom of the Prophet's family (PLATE 25) are strongly influenced by contemporary Shiraz work.

A copy of the *Shâhnâma* (Hazine 1475) in the Topkapı Sarayı has thirty-eight



PLATE 13 A prince waylaid as he rides to the polo ground
Gulistan of Sa'di. 9.5 x 7.2 cm. Shiraz style, 1513. Or. 11847 (65b)

SHIRAZ PAINTING IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

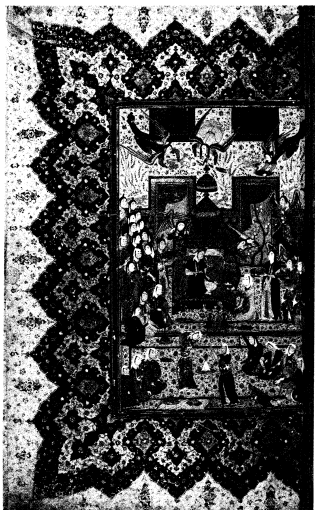


PLATE 14 Bilqis, the Queen of Sheba
Kulliyât (Collected Works) of Sa'dî. 21.6 × 13.5 cm. Shiraz style, 1566. Add. 24944 (3a)



PLATE 15 Faridūn, riding a cow, escorting Zuhāk to Mt Damāvand
Garshāspnāma of Asadi. 25 × 21.5 cm. Qazvin style, 1573. Or. 12985 (80a)



PLATE 16 Rustam and his horse Rakhsh trapped in the pit of spears
Shāhnamā of Firdawsi, 26 × 19.6 cm. Qazvin style, 1586. Add. 27302 (308a)

SHIRAZ PAINTING IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY



135.42 Rustam killing the White Demon
Shāhnāma of Firdawsī. 53 × 34.5 cm. Persian, Shiraz style, late 16th century.
 Topkapı Sarayı, Hazine 1475 (80a)

full-page illustrations which are of good quality, typical of the best late 16th-century Shiraz work. The manuscript, which measures 53×34.5 centimetres, has thirty-eight miniatures, teeming with figures, including a splendid painting of Rustam killing the White Demon (folio 80a) (FIG 42). The same subject in a Qazvin manuscript of 1586 (British Library Add. 27302, folio 83b) confines the figures to Rustam, the White Demon, the horse Rakhsh and Rustam's guide, Ulād, who is tied to a tree. In the Shiraz version (FIG 42) the whole composition is swarming with demons, of whom no two heads are alike. They are peering from behind rocks, climbing a tree, springing out into the top border, standing in groups, or even appearing in the cave where the main action is taking place. Whether bazaar or street scenes, hunting or battles, Shiraz miniatures of this period are a seething mass of small figures in a large-format painting. The India Office Library has a late 16th-century Shiraz manuscript (MS 741) with a similar, but less finished, painting (folio 94b) which has used, mirror-fashion, the identical group of demons holding rocks. The artist has included the figures of Rustam and the White Demon, but has cleared the other demons out of the cave⁽³⁾. The composition, which has every demon safely within its borders, is not of the quality of the Istanbul version, but interesting in that groups of figures which also appear in the Topkapı miniature, but which face the opposite way, may have been copied by 'pouncing' (see pp. 216-8). The Topkapı demon prancing about above the ruled border occurs in exactly the same form, but within the miniature, in the India Office Library manuscript, and has lost the companion to whom it is talking and gesticulating in the far more finished Istanbul version. Manuscripts continued to be produced in Shiraz into the 17th century, the style becoming increasingly similar to that of Isfahan. A copy of the *Khamsa* of Nizāmī, in the John Rylands Library at Manchester, gives both the date 1037/1628 and the place, Shiraz, in the colophon. It contains two contemporary miniatures, one a double page of Shah 'Abbās holding court (folio 2a) and hunting (folios 318b-319a)⁽⁴⁾. The miniatures, which maintain characteristics of the true Shiraz style, inasmuch as they are crowded with figures set against high horizons, also include details of costume, particularly the large turban and the peaked hat worn by the men and the headcloths of the women, similar to those in Isfahan paintings. After this date the distinctive Shiraz style is lost - merged with the metropolitan style of Isfahan.

(1) V. Minorsky (trans.), *Calligraphers and Painters*, Washington, 1959.

(2) J. P. Losty, *The Art of the Book in India*, London, 1982, pp. 70-71.

(3) B. W. Robinson, *Persian Paintings in the India Office Library*, London, 1976, p. 119.

(4) B. W. Robinson, *Persian Paintings in the John Rylands Library*, London, 1980, pp. 227, 233-4.

Qazvin, Mashhad and Herat: late sixteenth to early seventeenth century

While Shiraz was enjoying a prosperous and stable period throughout the entire 16th century under the Safavids, Tabriz in the north was constantly under threat from Ottoman raids and invasions. In 1548 Shah Tahmāsp moved his capital further south to Qazvin. Although, by this time, he had become preoccupied with religion and affairs of state and had lost his enthusiasm for and interest in painting, illustrated manuscripts were produced at Qazvin during the latter part of the 16th century, some within the lifetime of Shah Tahmāsp. Mashhad, Qum and Herat were also centres of book production, the latter continuing well into the reign of Shah 'Abbās (d. 1629).

When Humāyūn, son and successor of Bābur, the first Mughal emperor of India, was forced to flee from India, he was given hospitality in Iran by Shah Tahmāsp in 1544. This visit, which sparked off Humāyūn's interest in painting and book production, coincided with Tahmāsp's waning enthusiasm and probably accounted for the fact that Humāyūn was able to persuade artists and calligraphers to leave Tabriz. Some, who joined him in Kabul in November 1549, eventually went to India in 1554 where they founded the Mughal school of painting. The British Library's *Khamsa* of Nizāmī, completed in 1543, was the last great work to be prepared for Tahmāsp but at least two of his artists, namely 'Abd al-Šamad and Mir Sayyid 'Alī (FIG 43), were to work on similarly monumental manuscripts (FIG 66) in India, as well as producing paintings for Humāyūn in Kabul (FIG 65).

Iskandar Munshi⁽¹⁾ implies that Shah Tahmāsp lost interest in painting partly because of the pressure of his duties and partly because his artists and friends such as Āqā Mirak, Bihzād and Sultān Muḥammad were dead. Qāzī Aḥmad⁽²⁾ writing of the calligrapher Shāh Maḥmūd Nishāpūri, who copied the famous *Khamsa* of Nizāmī, said that he, Shāh Maḥmūd, worked at the court of Tahmāsp at Tabriz from the time he was a young man until Shah Tahmāsp 'wearied of the field of calligraphy and painting', when he went to Mashhad where he died in 972/1564-5. Qāzī Aḥmad (p. 182) describes how, during the time that Tahmāsp still 'favoured the artists', they would ride together on Egyptian asses in the palace garden of Tabriz. That Tahmāsp had not completely lost interest is shown by Qāzī Aḥmad's mention of paintings by him in the *Chihil Sutan* at Qazvin.

The finest illustrated manuscripts produced at Qazvin date from the 1570s and, although Shah Tahmāsp lived there, they may have been produced under the patronage of his nephew Ibrāhīm Mirzā. The author of the treatise on calligraphers and painters, Qāzī Aḥmad, was in Ibrāhīm Mirzā's employ as his father, Mir Munshi, had been before him. Qāzī Aḥmad eulogises Ibrāhīm Mirzā as a gifted and talented



FIG. 43 Majnūn brought in chains to Laylā's tent. By Mir Sayyid 'Alī
Khamsa of Nizāmī. 32 × 18.2 cm. Persian, Tabriz, 1539-43. Or. 2265 (157b)

man with wide interests who possessed marked ability as an artist, calligrapher and poet. In his various references to artists and scribes who worked for Shah Tahmāsp, Qāzī Aḥmad often refers to them as having worked in Tahmāsp's library when painters and calligraphers enjoyed favour and esteem. It is known that Ibrāhīm Mirzā was recalled from Mashhad, where he was governor, to Qazvin in 1568 although any further details of his career and movements between 1568 and 1576 when he was put to death by Tahmāsp's successor, Ismā'il II, are scanty. He was a noted patron during his governorship of Mashhad, maintaining a brilliant academy there. Being the son of Tahmāsp's brother, Bahrām Mirzā (d. 1549) who was himself a patron, Ibrāhīm was brought up in the tradition of the patronage of the book. He married a daughter of Shah Tahmāsp, Princess Gawhar Sultān and was given the governorship of Mashhad in 964/1556. Born in 1543-4, Ibrāhīm was very young when appointed to Mashhad and only thirty-four when he was murdered. Of him, Qāzī Aḥmad said that no ruler possessed a more flourishing academy where many calligraphers, artists, gilders and bookbinders were employed, and that he had an extensive library of some three thousand volumes. He apparently included amongst his many skills and interests miniature painting, book-binding and working in gold, sprinkling and gilding paper and applying border designs. He assembled an album of calligraphy and paintings at Mashhad, which, according to Qāzī Aḥmad, included some of Bihzād's work. This album, unlike that compiled at the instigation of his father Bahrām Mirzā (Hazine 2154), has not survived, because, according to both Qāzī Aḥmad⁽³⁾ and Iskandar Munshī⁽⁴⁾, his wife destroyed it. Qāzī Aḥmad writes that, after Ibrāhīm Mirzā had been murdered, she washed out the album, which she had originally been given on her wedding day, with water. Iskandar Munshī goes further, stating that she destroyed most of the contents of Ibrāhīm Mirzā's library by throwing manuscripts into water and that she smashed china and burned his other belongings. Making allowances for Qāzī Aḥmad's extravagant praise of the young prince and his talents, there is no doubt that he employed the ablest artists, calligraphers and others concerned with the production of fine works, as a copy of the *Haft Awrang* by Jāmi bears witness. Miniatures from this wonderful manuscript, now in the Freer Gallery of Art (46.12), are reproduced in colour in S. Cary Welch's *Royal Persian Manuscripts* (Plates 34-48). Containing twenty-eight miniatures, it was copied between 1556 (the year Ibrāhīm went to Mashhad) and 1565 by Malik al-Daylāmī and Shāh Maḥmūd Nishāpūrī, both giving the place of copying as Mashhad. Qāzī Aḥmad gives a fairly full biographical account of Malik al-Daylāmī, who was his teacher for a time, saying he accompanied Ibrāhīm to Mashhad in 1556, and spent a year and a half there before being recalled to Qazvin to write inscriptions for buildings recently erected by Tahmāsp. His short stay at Mashhad accounts for the fact that Shāh Maḥmūd Nishāpūrī had to complete the copying of the *Haft Awrang*. Although Ibrāhīm Mirzā kept asking that Malik al-Daylāmī should be allowed to return to Mashhad, Tahmāsp kept him in Qazvin where he died in 969/1561-2. The other calligrapher, the famous Shāh Maḥmūd Nishāpūrī, who was also the scribe of the Tahmāsp *Khamsa* of Nizāmi in the British Library (Or. 2265) (PLATE 10 and FIG 43), and who went to work for Ibrāhīm, died at Mashhad in 972/1564-5. The illustrations to the *Haft Awrang* are

magnificent full-page paintings, no doubt contributed by artists who joined Ibrāhīm Mirzā at Mashhad, among those mentioned being Shaykh Muḥammad, who was also one of his courtiers. These full-page paintings mark an intermediate stage for, while maintaining the exquisite colours of the Tahmāsp *Khamṣa* miniatures and the ornate illuminated decoration on canopies, carpets and architecture, they are often awkward in composition. This is probably caused by the artist trying to crowd too much in, making the *Khamṣa* compositions appear simple in contrast. Rocks are no longer given faces and are simplified, both in colour and formation, being built up in vertical blocks. Figures have become elongated, with inordinately long necks, and the cloud masses which are a feature of both Qazvin painting and that of late 16th-century Herat, also occur in this manuscript. Another feature in some of the miniatures is the drawing of distinct personalities in the faces, many of which must have been portraits of courtiers or fellow artists, or even of Ibrāhīm Mirzā himself appearing as Joseph, in the story of *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā* (Joseph and Potiphar's wife) (folio 132a), sitting near a building and beneath a dedication to the royal patron. Seven of the nine years, 1556–1565, which it took to produce the *Haft Awrang*, coincide with Ibrāhīm Mirzā's governorship of Mashhad. After he had displeased Shah Tahmāsp, he was removed from Mashhad in 1563 and became, successively, governor of Qā'in and Sabzavar before Tahmāsp recalled him to Qazvin in 1568. It was in Sabzavar, according to Iskandar Munshī⁽⁵⁾, that Shaykh Muḥammad entered the service of Ibrāhīm Mirzā and then went back with him to Qazvin. The miniatures with expressive faces in the *Haft Awrang* may be Shaykh Muḥammad's work for Iskandar Munshī says that it was he who introduced the European style of painting in Iran and no one equalled him in drawing faces and figures. Shaykh Muḥammad, who later worked for Ismā'il II and for 'Abbās I, may have worked on the faces in certain paintings in the *Haft Awrang* as some are undoubtedly westernised portraits, particularly in folio 132a (PLATE 41)⁽⁶⁾, folio 231a (PLATE 45), folio 253a (PLATE 46) and folio 298a (PLATE 48). These faces, so full of character and humour, are quite unlike the usual expressionless features of people in Persian miniatures, being more akin to Mughal work of the late 16th century.

An illustrated Qazvin manuscript with a colophon giving both date and place, is the important *Garshāspnāma* in the British Library (Or. 12985) of 981/1573⁽⁷⁾. The much-travelled and famous calligrapher Mir 'Imād, who worked in Qazvin before going to Isfahan, copied the text while three of the miniatures are signed by artists who were working at Qazvin at the time, and of whom both Qāzī Aḥmad and Iskandar Munshī give details, namely Muzaḥḥar 'Alī (folio 5a), Sādiqī (folio 45b) and Zayn al-'Ābidīn (folio 90b). The other five miniatures in the manuscript were either not signed or the signatures are lost. The Qazvin artists usually wrote their minute signatures somewhere at the foot of the painting, either on a stone or in a panel between the verses, which, unfortunately, was the part of the page most likely to suffer wear and tear. It would be surprising if the work of a fourth artist, Siyāvush Beg, is not represented in this manuscript, for not only did he work for Shah Tahmāsp at Tabriz, but, as a young man, was taught by him. He was a Georgian who was taken to Tabriz by Shah Tahmāsp and, after the latter's death in 1576, he continued to work at

Qazvin for Ismā'il II (d. 1617), later going to Shah 'Abbās at Isfahan in whose service he died. Siyāvush Beg taught Vali Jān, an artist who went to Turkey and who was appointed to the Ottoman studios by Sultan Murād III (d. 1595) and whose work is probably to be found in the British Library's Ottoman album (Or. 2709). According to Iskandar Munshī, Siyāvush Beg excelled in mountain scenes so perhaps the miniature of the young Farīdūn, mounted on the cow, Birmāya, which was his foster-mother in his infancy, and escorting Zuhhāk to Mount Damavand (folio 80a) (PLATE 15), may be by him. The contrast between the youthful Farīdūn and the wicked Zuhhāk, from whose shoulders snakes are sprouting, is well conveyed.

Of the other artists, Muẓaffar 'Alī died soon after Shah Tahmāsp in 1576 or 1577 when he must have been an old man. His work is represented in the splendid *Khamsa* of Nizāmī (folio 211a) which was completed at Tabriz in 1543, by the painting of Bahrām Gūr, in the likeness of Tahmāsp, hunting wild asses and displaying his skill as a marksman. His painting, in the *Garshāspnāma* of 1573, of Firdawsī, unrecognised, requesting to be allowed to join the company of the three poets of Ghazni (folio 5a) is reminiscent, although a simpler version, of the painting of the same subject in the Houghton *Shāhnāma* (folio 7a). The *Shāhnāma* miniature is on a far grander scale with the added figures of a gardener, a wine bearer, a cook and two attendants in a lovely landscape full of flowering plants and trees and with a mountain towering up in the background against a gold sky. The similarity between the two paintings lies in the position of the figures of the four poets, that of the diffident Firdawsī standing apart, his shyness contrasting with the appearance of the other three, flushed with wine and absorbed in argument and discussion.

Zayn al-Ābidīn, the artist of a battle scene (folio 90b) in which Narīmān is killing the ruler of China, was another artist who had spent his working life in Shah Tahmāsp's employment and who was steeped in the art, being a grandson of the great court artist Sulṭān Muḥammad (PLATE 10). According to Iskandar Munshī he was of impeccable character and an agreeable companion (not always compatible qualities) who after the death of Shah Tahmāsp, worked for Ismā'il II. Iskandar Munshī was not so complimentary about Šadiqī, whose spirited painting of the battle between Garshāsp and the army of dog-headed demons (folio 45b) provided a suitable subject for his talents. He had been a promising pupil of Muẓaffar 'Alī but gave up painting to become first a wandering dervish and then a soldier, before joining Ismā'il II's library, eventually becoming librarian to Shah 'Abbās whom he succeeded in offending, together with everyone else with whom he came into contact.

The measurements of the 1573 *Garshāspnāma* folios are almost identical with those of the *Haft Awrang* done for Ibrāhīm Mirzā between 1556 and 1565, i.e. just over 34 × 23 centimetres. The miniatures in both these manuscripts, and in a *Shāhnāma* thought to have been produced for Ismā'il II in 1576–7 at Qazvin, share common features such as the long narrow rocks built up vertically (PLATE 15), the landscape extending well into the borders and the large tree (usually a *chinar* or oriental plane) in the background. The *Shāhnāma* must either have been begun for Ibrāhīm Mirzā and continued for Ismā'il II or produced in its entirety after Ismā'il's accession. No illustrated copy of the *Shāhnāma* commissioned by Ibrāhīm Mirzā is known and, as it

is likely that he would want one, the project would probably have begun after completion of the *Garshāspnāma*, in *circa* 1574–5. The artists Šādiqī and Zayn al-‘Abidin whose work appears in the British Library *Garshāspnāma*, as well as possibly that of Siyāvush, are also responsible for paintings in the *Shāhnāma*, in addition to two other artists, Murād Mihrab and Naqdi. As in the *Garshāspnāma*, attributions or signatures are to be found on stones or in panels between verses. Unfortunately this *Shāhnāma* was acquired by the notorious Demotte and, as in the case of the 14th-century manuscript, he split it up and sold the miniatures separately so once more the colophon with important details of scribe, date and patron is missing. B.W. Robinson⁽⁸⁾ has traced forty-nine of the miniatures, pointing out that none is known which illustrates events after that of Alexander the Great building the wall.

After the death of Shah Tāhmāsp in 1576 and the murder of his rightful heir Haydar Sulṭān, Shah Ismā‘il II was crowned in Qazvin in August the same year. Embittered by the treatment he had received from his father, who imprisoned him for nineteen years, and also a drug-addict, Ismā‘il II harboured great enmity against his relations, which resulted in the murder, after his accession, of most of his family, including his cousin Ibrāhīm Mirzā, as well as many prominent citizens and officials. His elder brother, Muḥammad Khudābanda, escaped execution and the latter's son with the aid of his guardian, also survived, later to become Shah ‘Abbās I. Shah Ismā‘il II, for all his vicious cruelty, was a poet, calligrapher and painter and he continued to maintain the Qazvin academy and to employ many of those same artists and scribes who had previously worked for Ibrāhīm Mirzā, both at Mashhad and later at Qazvin. Ismā‘il II was murdered by poisoning in November 1577 and was succeeded by his weak brother, Muḥammad Khudābanda. Iskandar Munshī⁽⁹⁾ writing of Zayn al-‘Abidin states that during the reign of Ismā‘il II ‘when the royal library was reopened’ he joined its staff. This period of painting at Qazvin ended with Muḥammad Khudābanda's accession in 1578 and, for the ten years of his reign, Qazvin ceased to be a centre of patronage of book production. Artists and scribes moved away, Šādiqī himself ‘when things did not turn out the way he wanted them’ giving up painting, though he eventually, like so many other artists, joined Shah ‘Abbās. ‘Alī Asghār who worked for both Ibrāhīm Mirzā and Ismā‘il II was the father of Riḡā ‘Abbāsī, the most famous of the Isfahan artists. Siyāvush, and his brother Farrukh Beg, moved to work for Ḥamza Mirzā, the ill-fated son of Muḥammad Khudābanda, ‘Abd al-Jabbar Astarābādī went to Gilan, while Shaykh Muḥammad returned to Khurasan. Later at Isfahan, during the reign of Shah ‘Abbās (d. 1629), and at Herat during the governorships of Ḥusayn Khān Shāmlū (d. 1618–19) and Ḥasan Khān Shāmlū (d. 1640), artists and other craftsmen enjoyed a brilliant period of patronage.

Nothing more can be learned of Zayn al-‘Abidin but presumably he remained at Qazvin. No manuscripts dedicated to Muḥammad Khudābanda are known and it is possible that the few which are dated during his ten-year reign were produced under the patronage of his son Ḥamza Mirzā. Zayn al-‘Abidin was famous not only as an artist but as an illuminator and a scribe. The first folio of the only remaining part of what must have been intended as a magnificent *Shāhnāma*, in the Chester Beatty

Library (P. 277), bears the signature of Zayn al-'Ābidīn on the illuminated heading. Only fourteen miniatures remain, including some which are possibly the work of Šādiqī and the young Rizā 'Abbāsī. This magnificent manuscript may have been begun at Qazvin for Shah 'Abbās when the academy got under way after his accession in 1587 and was possibly not completed because of the upheaval of his move to Isfahan in 1598. That it was a royal manuscript is not in doubt and it shares the dubious honour with the Tahmāsp *Khamṣa* of Nizāmī in the British Library (Or. 2265) of having two miniatures added to it by Muḥammad Zamān, that of the birth of Rustam being dated 1087/1676.

The identity of the patron of a large *Shāhnāma* (the folios measure 48 × 30 centimetres) in the British Library (Add. 27302) is more problematical. This is partly because Zayn al-'Ābidīn is given as the scribe in the colophon and partly because the date, 994/1586, is the same year that, in November, Ḥamza Mirzā was assassinated. The two double-page and twenty-eight single miniatures, in the Qazvin style, are enclosed in ruled lines with no over-lapping into the borders. By this time the Qazvin style was even more simplified, as can be seen in the painting of Rustam in the pit of spears (PLATE 16). With its lack of variation in rock colours and plain gold sky, the composition is typical of all the large paintings in this manuscript. The pinkish-brown paper is the kind commonly used in Qazvin manuscripts and the doublures of the contemporary binding are also typical Qazvin work, decorated with cut-out gilded paper stuck on to a coloured background. The double-page painting of a prince being entertained whilst a banquet is being prepared, at the beginning (folio 1b-2a) of the manuscript, has an illuminated border. The margins of the miniature pages are decorated with large designs in gold of animals and *šimurghs*.

Comparison between this large *Shāhnāma* dated 1586, produced at a time when Qazvin had lost leading artists such as Šādiqī and Siyāvūsh, and the Chester Beatty *Shāhnāma* fragment (P. 277)⁽¹⁰⁾ of some ten years earlier, demonstrates the change in the style. All through the history of Persian painting which was so dependent on enthusiastic patronage, the ebb and flow of the quality of miniatures is tied in with the fortunes and interests of the rulers. Historical circumstances and the character and preferences of the patrons affected the quality of the work of artists and craftsmen, causing the best to move on when patronage waned.

Herat and other places in the province of Khurasan in north-east Iran continued to produce illustrated manuscripts, with miniatures similar in many ways to the Qazvin style of paintings in the *Garshāspnāma* (Or. 12985) (PLATE 15). The province of Bakharz between Herat and Nishapur, in the east of Khurasan, provided patrons in the 1560s and '70s while Herat itself became yet again a noted centre at the end of the 16th century and during the first two decades of the 17th.

Three manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris are listed by Stehoukine⁽¹¹⁾ as giving Bakharz as their place of copying. Suppl. Pers. 547 dated 1565-6, Suppl. Pers. 561 of 978/1570 and Suppl. Pers. 1149 dated 980/1572. The scribe of the 1570 manuscript, a copy of *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā*, who gives the place of copying as Malan in Bakharz, is Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Ḥusaynī. He is mentioned by Qāzī Aḥmad who says, somewhat cuttingly, that he wrote more beautifully than most

of the scribes in Khurasan. Muḥammad Husayn was in Qazvin for some years, returning to Khurasan after the death of Shah Tahmāsp. Qāzī Aḥmad's veiled scorn of Khurasan scribes could be extended to contemporary artists of the same province during this period, 1560–70. Khurasan painting, in a similar way to that of Bukhara at the same time, had atrophied through lack of fresh inspiration in the form of an enthusiastic patron who could attract artists from other centres to his atelier. Khurasan miniatures of this period are even more simple than those of the Bukhara style for they lack the finely illuminated decorations within the paintings on quivers, bowcases, saddle cloths, clothes, thrones and, above all, round buildings, which are a feature of otherwise poor quality Bukhara work.

Towards the end of the 16th century and during the first half of the 17th, Herat enjoyed a period of stability under two governors, both of whom were patrons. Husayn Khān Shāmlū was sent from Qum to be governor of Herat in 1598 (the same year that Shah 'Abbās moved his capital from Qazvin to Isfahan) where he remained until his death in 1618. He was succeeded by his son Hasan Khān Shāmlū (ruled 1618–1640). This period at Herat has been well-documented by Barbara Schmitz⁽¹²⁾, as indeed the Qazvin school was by Anthony Welch⁽¹³⁾.

The Shāmlū had been the most important of the Turkman tribes in the support of Shah Ismā'il I in the early 16th century. At various times a Shāmlū acted as guardian (or *lālā*) to the young princes, including Tahmāsp's brothers, Bahram Mirzā and Sām Mirzā, who were sent as governors to Herat, and in 1576, 'Alī Qūlī Khān Shāmlū was *lālā* of the future Shah 'Abbās I. Herat was, as so often, conquered by the Uzbeks in 1588 and Shah 'Abbās regained it in 1598. Husayn Khān Shāmlū, who was then appointed governor of Herat in his own right, had been a boyhood friend of Shah 'Abbās at the time his father, 'Alī Qūlī Khān Shāmlū, had been guardian of the latter. 'Alī Qūlī Khān himself maintained an academy, for one of his artists Muḥammadī, who was later to join Shah 'Abbās at Isfahan, painted his portrait 'at Herat' in 992/1584. The British Library has no illustrated manuscripts of late 16th-century Herat origin, but has three in which Khurasan-style miniatures of *circa* 1570–80 have been added (Add. 16687, Add. 25801 and Or. 3247) and which demonstrate how far removed Herat painting was from that of Qazvin at this time. In the 17th century, the miniatures were to become increasingly similar to those in the current Isfahan style but fortunately manuscripts usually had informative colophons placing them fairly and squarely in Herat.

Husayn Khān Shāmlū had an atelier at Qum and no doubt took artists, calligraphers and other craftsmen from there when he was appointed to Herat by Shah 'Abbās in 1598, after the Uzbeks had been driven out. A manuscript of the *Nuḥṣatnāma-i 'Alā'i* in the Chester Beatty Library (P. 255) was copied by Muḥammad Mu'min ibn Muḥammad Qāsim at Qum in 1599 and the same scribe's name, some fourteen months later, appears in a splendid copy of the *Shāhnāma* now in Iran, dedicated to Husayn Khān Shāmlū in 1008/1600. By this time the Herat style had become established and is typified by such details as the thick layers of cloud swirling across the top border, a large tree in the background and simple, somewhat static, compositions. The Walters Gallery in Baltimore has a manuscript of the *Gharā' ib al-dunyā*



FIG. 44 Sultan Sanjar and his vizier
Gharā'ib al-dunyā by Āzarī. 24 × 15.5 cm. Persian, Herat, 1613. Walters Art Gallery,
 10-652 (24a)

(Marvels of the World) by Āzarī which is dedicated to Ḥusayn Khān Shāmlū at Herat in 1022/1613. It contains fourteen miniatures illustrating tales similar to those in the British Library's Ottoman collection of anecdotes and legends (Harleian 5500), such as the account of the special stone which attracted mice and rats and was used by the local people in their houses as a means of destroying rodents, so that, as the Turkish text says, 'no cats were needed in those regions'. The miniature from the Walters Gallery manuscript (folio 24a) (FIG 44), of Sultan Sanjar giving a special wine cup to his vizier at Nawruz (New Year) celebrations, is, by this time (1613), similar to contemporary Isfahan work. It would appear that some manuscripts of this period, which do not give details of place or patron and which have previously been ascribed to Isfahan, may well have been produced at Herat for Ḥusayn Khān Shāmlū or for his son Hasan. An interesting manuscript of the *Dīwān* of Faryābī dated 1614, in the Chester Beatty Library (P. 262), was copied by Shāh Qāsim, a scribe who worked successively for Ḥusayn and Hasan Khān Shāmlū, and has a miniature (folio 80a) with an inscription over the entrance to a tent stating it is the *kitābkhāna* (library) of Ḥusayn Khān. The turbans and facial features, particularly the drooping 'handle bar' moustaches in the latter, are all found in Isfahan miniatures, as is a similar colour scheme using brown, gold and mauve or purple. Under these two governors Herat had a forty-year period of stable patronage in which scribes and artists worked for father and son. The main interruptions to this stability were caused by Shah 'Abbās taking members of the Herat atelier to work at his academy at Isfahan. Like Shah Tahmāsp a century earlier, Hasan Khān Shāmlū turned to religion and away from painting about halfway through his period of governorship, which ran from 1618 to 1640.

(1) R.M. Savory (trans.), *History of Shah 'Abbas the Great (Turikh-i Alamārii-yi 'Abbāsī) by Iskandar Beg Munshi*, 2 vols., *Persian Heritage Series*, 28, Colorado, 1979.

(2) V. Minorsky (trans.), *Calligraphers and Painters*, Washington, 1959, p. 135.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 184.

(4) R.M. Savory, *op. cit.*, p. 311.

(5) *Ibid.*

(6) S.C. Welch, *Royal Persian Manuscripts*, 1976.

(7) N.M. Titley, 'A manuscript of the *Garshaspnāme*', *British Museum Quarterly* Vol. XXI (1-2) pp. 27-32, pl. VI-VII, Autumn, 1966.

(8) B.W. Robinson, 'Isma'il's copy of the *Shāhnāma*', *Iran, Journal of Persian Studies*, Vol. XIV, 1976, pp. 1-8.

(9) R.M. Savory, *op. cit.*

(10) The Chester Beatty Library, *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts* Vol. 2, pp. 49-50, PLATES 38-43.

(11) I. Stehoukine, *Les peintures des manuscrits Safavides de 1502-1587*, Paris, 1959.

(12) Barbara Schmitz, *Miniature Painting in Herat, 1570-1640*, Doctoral Thesis, May 1981, New York University.

(13) Anthony Welch, *Artists for the Shah: Late Sixteenth Century Painting at the Imperial Court of Iran*, 1976.

Shah 'Abbās the Great and his successors

Shah 'Abbās, who was born at Herat in 1571, succeeded at Qazvin in 1587 and immediately set about restoring order in the provinces, creating a strong central government under his own rule and settling affairs with troublesome neighbours. He made a peace treaty with the Ottoman Sultan, Murād III, in 1590 and instigated a campaign to defeat the Uzbeks and to end the raids which had bedevilled Khurasan all through the 16th century. In 1598 'Abbās I moved his capital from Qazvin to Isfahan where he maintained a brilliant court and created a magnificent city, receiving ambassadors, envoys, merchants and travellers from European countries and from India. He moved Armenians to the suburb, New Julfa, and built palaces in the north at Ashraf and Mazandaran. He drove the Portuguese out of Hormuz, captured Kandahar from the Mughals and won back western territories previously lost to the Ottoman empire.

Artists and craftsmen who had left Qazvin because of lack of patronage under Muḥammad Khudābanda, returned to work for Shah 'Abbās, including the ill-natured Šādiqī. The latter, who died in Isfahan in 1610, was made head of the *kitābkhāna*, but fell out with his colleagues and his patron, and was dismissed. However, 'Abbās generously allowed him to continue to draw his salary as nominal head of the library. Šādiqī himself, in 1593, commissioned a copy of the *Anvār-i Suhaylī* by Husayn Vā'iz which he illustrated with over a hundred paintings⁽¹⁾. This collection of fables is eminently suitable for illustration and no doubt appealed to Šādiqī as an artist, and not having been commissioned to do so by his royal patron, he decided to illustrate his own copy, which is now in the collection of Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan. A man of parts, Šādiqī also wrote several books, among them a treatise on painting, *Qānūn al-Savar*⁽²⁾ in which, amongst various sections on the preparation of tools and materials, he explains his own methods of preparing colours. He also wrote a biographical work which included accounts of the lives and careers of some of the artists and calligraphers who were his contemporaries. In this work, which is entitled *Majma' al-Khavass* (The Concourse of the Elite), Šādiqī sometimes makes sour or scandalous comments which are perhaps to be expected from a man in whom qualities of artistic brilliance and high courage were combined with malevolence, a blend not unknown today.

Patronage of book production continued throughout the 17th century but not on the same scale as under Shah 'Abbās I, who died in 1629. During this period single paintings and drawings became the vogue, as indeed they did in Turkey and Mughal India at the same time. Albums of portraits, sketches and specimens of calligraphy

were put together and, to a certain extent, superseded illustrated manuscripts. It has always been the policy of the Department of Oriental Manuscripts and Printed Books, both when part of the British Museum, and now, as a section of the British Library, to collect manuscript texts, leaving albums and single miniatures to the Department of Oriental Antiquities in the British Museum. Although single drawings and sketches by famous Isfahan artists such as Rizā 'Abbāsī are not represented in the British Library, the collection does include several fine, and historically interesting, illustrated manuscripts of the 17th century. One of these, a copy of the *Shāhnāma* which is dated 1037/1628 (Add. 27258), a year before the death of Shah 'Abbās, contains sixty-four miniatures (PLATE 17) which might be the work of Rizā 'Abbāsī. The drooping 'handle bar' moustaches, calligraphic lines, the round-faced page, wearing a black hat, in the background, and the green and mauve tinted rocks, are all features of his work which had entered its second phase by this date. Āqā Rizā (not to be confused with the Persian artist of that name working for the Mughal emperor Jahāngīr (PLATE 40)), and Rizā 'Abbāsī are undoubtedly one and the same person, as Stchoukine, who devotes a whole chapter to him⁽³⁾, has pointed out. He was the son of 'Alī Aṣghar who worked for both Ibrāhīm Mirzā at Mashhad and for Ismā'īl II at Qazvin. Qāzī Aḥmad was fulsome in his praise, saying the artist had no rival at that time and that he was appointed to the court of Shah 'Abbās, but later he regrets that the artist did not choose his companions carefully enough and became interested in wrestling. Rizā 'Abbāsī, at his best, was brilliant at capturing personality in quick sketches. The sketch of the old man slyly smiling (FIG 45) is typical of Rizā 'Abbāsī's earlier work although it is not signed by him, an inscription just giving the place where it was drawn as Herat and the date the 10th of Safar with no year. The sketch is from the Freer Gallery's Rizā 'Abbāsī album (53.16). This album also includes examples of the work of Mu'īn Muṣavvīr who was a pupil of Rizā 'Abbāsī, the earliest (53.57) being dated 1638, another 1672. Mu'īn Muṣavvīr was known to have been working between 1635 and 1707 and an undated history of Shah Ismā'īl I in the British Library (Or. 3248) is illustrated by him.

Proof, if it were needed, of the removal of manuscripts from library to library is again manifest in an extraordinary manuscript of the *Shāhnāma* (in the New York Public Library) which was produced for Shah 'Abbās in 1023/1614. It contains forty-four miniatures inspired by the Bāysunghur MS of 1430 in style, execution and subject, and is referred to by Grube⁽⁴⁾⁽⁵⁾ as 'one of the most remarkable creations of Persian painting in the late period'. Artists working on it must have had the Bāysunghur *Shāhnāma* in front of them, the latter being one of the few manuscripts to remain in the royal libraries of Iran since its production in 1430 as it is still in the Gulistan Palace Library in Tehran.

Shah 'Abbās I was succeeded by Shah Safī 'I who executed officials and, in time-honoured fashion, those members of his family who might have posed a threat. The former included Imām Qūlī Khān who had captured the island of Hormuz from the Portuguese in 1623, and whose exploits and death are the subjects of an illustrated manuscript in the British Library (Add. 7801) (FIG 46). Safī 'I continued to support the Isfahan atelier and manuscripts were produced during his reign, with Rizā 'Abbāsī

FIG 45 Sketch of a smiling man.
Attributable to Rīzā 'Abbāsī. Album drawing,
13.5 × 5.6 cm. Persian, Isfahan style,
17th century. Freer Gallery of Art, 53-16



continuing to work for him until the artist died in 1635. The work of Rīzā 'Abbāsī appears to fall into two distinct styles. His earlier paintings and sketches (FIG 45) portrayed the character of his subjects. Later, his paintings of languorous youths and droopy maidens became stylised, with faces lacking a gleam of personality, his colour range becoming confined mainly to a hard purple, and to brown and green. Rīzā's carefully finished paintings of these languid beauties, either lounging on the ground or standing and leaning against the wind, conveys an impression of greenery-gallery decadence. They are in poor contrast to his earlier brilliant sketches, rapidly completed and sometimes accompanied by a scribbled note of name, place and year, although unfortunately details of all three are not always supplied. His bold calligraphic lines convey the fold of a robe or a turban, minute strokes the twinkle in an eye or the curl of a lip.

The most outstanding manuscript dating from the reign of Shah Safī is a copy by the scribe Muḥammad Bāqir, of the Book of Fixed Stars (*Kitāb al-kawākib al-thabitā*)



FIG. 46 Sea battle off Hormuz (Jārūn) in 1623
Jārūn-nāma by Qadrī. 20.5 × 14.2 cm. Persian, Isfahan style, 1697. Add. 7801 (432)



PLATE 17 Rustam and Kay Kā'ūs watching the King of Mazandaran turning himself into a boulder

Shāhnāma of Firdawsi. 14.3 × 12.3 cm. Isfahan style, 1628. Add. 27258 (95b)

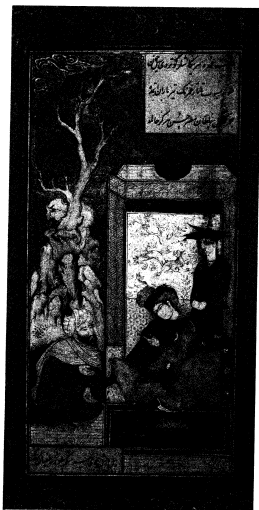


PLATE 18 Youth and old man
Dīwān of Bāqī. 16 × 7.5 cm. Isfahan style, 1636. Add. 7922 (83a)



PLATE 19 Shah Ismā'il leading his army across the River Kur at Tiflis (Tbilisi). By Mu'in Muṣavvir
Anonymous history of Ismā'il I, 14.5 × 12 cm. Isfahan style, mid-17th century. Or. 3248 (55b)



PLATE 20 Fitna astonishing Bahrām Gūr ('practice makes perfect'). By Muḥammad Zamān

Khamsa of Nizāmī. 19.5 × 13.8. Ashraf, Mazandaran, 1675. Or. 2265 (213a)

by 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Ṣūfī⁽⁶⁾. The work contains seventy-one fine paintings in the Isfahan style, none of them bearing signature or attributions, and is dated 1042/1632. Rīzā 'Abbāsī no doubt worked on this manuscript as he certainly did on the copy of Niẓāmī's *Khusraw u Shīrīn* in the Victoria and Albert Museum (364-1885), in which he has not only signed all eighteen miniatures but has dated folio 47a, 1042/1632. Another manuscript produced during the reign of Shah Safī 'I is a copy of the *'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt* (Wonders of Creation) which gives the name of the scribe, Shamsa, and a date at the end of 1041, the equivalent of June 1631. This manuscript is fully described by Robinson⁽⁷⁾ who says of the miniatures that they 'admirably exemplify the mature Isfahan style' and reproduces fifty of them in black and white and one (PLATE XIV) in colour.

There is a remarkable copy of the *Dīwān* of Ḥāfiẓ dating from late in the reign of Shah Safī, in the Topkapı Sarayı Library (H. 1010) which contains five hundred and fifty miniatures, one opposite every page of text. Karatay⁽⁸⁾ does not give a specific date for this manuscript but the miniature on folio 79a, which is signed by Muḥammad Yūsuf is dated 1050/1640-1. Only three of the miniatures bear signatures; two are by Muḥammad Yūsuf and one (folio 362a) by Muḥammad 'Alī. The British Library has only one illustrated manuscript and a dated drawing which coincide with the reign (1629-42) of Shah Safī 'I. The tinted drawing, signed by Bahā al-Dīn, and dated 1040/1630 has been inserted in the first volume of a copy of the *Shāhnāma* (Egerton 682). The illustrated manuscript is a *Dīwān* (collected poems) of the Ottoman poet Bāqī (Add. 7922). Written throughout in Ottoman Turkish, it has a colophon giving the scribe, Banda-yi Shāh-i Najaf Afshār and the date 1046/1636, an indication that it was produced for Shah Safī 'I⁽⁹⁾. The eight miniatures⁽¹⁰⁾, which bear no signatures or attributions to identify the artist, are Isfahan-style paintings of excellent quality (PLATE 18) similar to the delicate style of Muḥammad Yūsuf. This is particularly apparent in the treatment and colouring of the rocks clustered above the landscape, which are painted in a variety of pastel shades of green, blue, mauve and salmon pink, blending one into another. Figures of elderly men, too, are very similar to those in his signed work as are the exaggerated almond-shaped eyes in the faces of young men and women.

The Safavid dynasty lingered on until Nādir Shah crowned himself in 1736, but was in decline after the death of Shah 'Abbās I in 1629. Shah Safī 'I died in 1641 and was succeeded by 'Abbās II who reigned until 1666. He inherited his grandfather's interest in the arts and appreciated fine things, particularly textiles. He continued to support the atelier and, in addition, set up workshops which produced the brocades, velvets and other luxurious cloths he liked so much. Muḥammad Yūsuf continued to work for him, as did Mu'īn Muşavvīr, Muḥammad Qāsim and Afzal al-Husaynī (Mīr Afzal Tūnī). Paintings by these artists appear in a copy of the *Shāhnāma* dated 1642-50, now in Leningrad, which was almost certainly the new ruler's accession copy of this work. The work of Muḥammad Qāsim is probably represented in one of the Chester Beatty manuscripts of *Sūz u Gūddāz* (Burning and Melting) by Naw 'ī. Dated 1650, this copy is distinguished by the spectacular flames (FIG 47) in the illustrations. The author Naw 'ī who died in 1610, went to India during the reign of Akbar and



FIG. 47 The young woman preparing to commit suttee
Sāz u Gaddāz by Naw'ī. Persian, Isfahan style, circa 1630. Chester Beatty Library,
 P. 268 (31b)

wrote the poem for Prince Dāniyāl, Akbar's eldest son. This tragic tale of an Indian bride who committed suttee and burned herself on her husband's pyre⁽¹¹⁾, is represented by an illustrated 17th-century Mughal manuscript in the British Library (Or. 2839) in which there is a damaged miniature (folio 17b) of Dāniyāl himself trying to persuade the bride to leave the funeral pyre. In the Chester Beatty manuscript she is standing by her husband's coffin as the fire is built up with logs.

Another undated manuscript also from the mid-17th century is a copy of an anonymous history of Shah Ismā'il I (Or. 3248). Four of the miniatures, including that of Ismā'il fording the river Kur (folio 55b) (PLATE 19), bear the minute signature of Mu'in Muṣavvīr in the margin below the paintings. Although only the four are signed, all the miniatures, one double-page and nineteen others, are undoubtedly by the same artist who had a fondness for pinkish-mauve, represented here by the tunics worn by two of the horsemen (PLATE 19). In other miniatures this colour is used extensively on landscapes and buildings. The miniature of Ismā'il's army fording the river demonstrates the simplicity of mid-17th-century Isfahan paintings in both composition and colour range. Colours are softer, almost pastel shades, with emphasis on dull purple, scarlet, crimson, brown, pale blue and green, while gold is used sparingly, the paintings being far removed from those of the earlier Safavid period with their brilliant colours and crowded compositions. Comparison of this painting with that of Bahrām Gūr hunting by Sulṭān Muḥammad (PLATE 10), of a century earlier, demonstrates only too clearly the changes in style, technique and quality which had taken place. One reason for the change was the increasing influence of European painting which, by 1675, is all too apparent in the miniatures by Muḥammad Zamān, whose origin, identity, career and art training never cease to be controversial.

Mu'in Muṣavvīr, who worked between 1635 and 1697, was very active and many single paintings signed by him have survived. He illustrated a *Shāhnāma* for Shah 'Abbās II, all but two of the miniatures being dated and signed by him between the years 1654–57. The first volume is in the collection of Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan and the second in the Chester Beatty Library (P. 270).

Shah Sulaymān I (Safī 'II) succeeded 'Abbās II in 1666 and reigned until his death in 1694. Although he ruled for twenty-eight years, he took very little interest in state affairs and the decline of Safavid power continued both under his rule and that of his successor Sultan Husayn (1694–1722), by which latter date the Afghans had occupied Isfahan, holding it for the next seven years. Illustrated manuscripts were still produced however, but were steadily decreasing in numbers and quality. The British Library has a manuscript of the *Khamsa* of Nizāmī (Add. 6613) which bears dates overlapping the end of the reign of 'Abbās II and the beginning of that of Sulaymān I, i.e. 1076–7/1665–7. The names of the patron, Tājā Mirzā Abu'l-Hasanā, the scribe Ibrāhīm Muḥammad Mukhar al-Ma'lūm *al-kātib al-Shīrāzī* and the artist, Ṭalīb Lālā of the Zhu'l-Qadar tribe, are all given, in addition to the date. Unfortunately the place of copying is unknown and the manuscript was probably commissioned by a provincial dignitary.

Known facts about the famous Muḥammad Zamān and his origins and subsequent

activities are in a highly confused state. That he was active during the reign of Sulaymān I (Shah Safi' II), that his paintings were highly Europeanised, that he worked at Ashraf in Mazandaran as well as at Isfahan and that he was commissioned to add paintings to royal manuscripts of the previous century, demonstrates that he must have had a royal patron, i.e. Sulaymān I. As Ivanov has pointed out⁽¹²⁾ it cannot be assumed from his paintings that he was sent to Rome to study, for Christian subjects by him are mainly derived from Flemish engravings. His last known dated miniature was signed and dated 1100/1688-9, at Isfahan. In 1086/1675 he was working at Ashraf when he painted the three miniatures which were added to the British Library's Shah Tahmāsp Nizāmī and these paintings, so totally out of keeping with the rest of the manuscript, demonstrate the extent to which European art had influenced Persian artists by 1675. The town of Ashraf was founded by 'Abbās I in 1021/1612-3 as a rural retreat. Royal palaces were built there over the years but these were plundered and ruined during the Afghan invasions of the 17th century and by the Zand army in the 18th. However, Ashraf, with its two palaces, must have been a splendid place in 1675. The extensive gardens were watered by a sophisticated irrigation system which also supplied fountains and cascades and provided fertile land which was capable of producing fruit trees in abundance. According to Iskandar Munshi⁽¹³⁾ the palace complex also included hammams and bazaars and people went there to live in some numbers. Shah 'Abbās I had constructed caravansarays at regular intervals on the road running from Isfahan to Ashraf and good accommodation was provided for guests and travellers.

One of the paintings added by Muḥammad Zamān in 1675 to the Shah Tahmāsp Nizāmī, illustrates the famous 'practice makes perfect' story (PLATE 20). It follows the incident, illustrated by Sulḡān Muḥammad (PLATE 10), in which Bahrām Gūr was snubbed by the maiden Fitna when he expected praise and astonishment for his feats of marksmanship and only received the cool comment 'practice makes perfect'. In his rage he threw her down and rode over her, ordering her banishment. In the *Shāhnāma* version she is killed but Nizāmī produced a sequel in which, about two years later, Bahrām Gūr was astonished to see a girl walking up the steps to the balcony, where he was drinking wine, with a full-sized ox on her shoulders. To his inquiries she replied, again, 'practice makes perfect', explaining that she began by carrying a small calf, gradually gaining enough strength to carry a large animal. Muḥammad Zamān, whose signature is on the wall of the left-hand niche, together with the date 1086/1675, introduces perspective and shading into his pictures, which, with his meticulous regard to detail, demonstrates the influence of European painting.

Shah Sulaymān I was evidently very interested in the rise of the Safavids for he commissioned a history of the dynasty in 1078/1667-8. Some of the miniatures in the manuscript (Chester Beatty Library P. 279) are by Riḡā Muzaffar who contributed to the 1642-51 *Shāhnāma* made for 'Abbās II, which is now in Leningrad. The last miniature in the historical work is of the accession of Sulaymān I in 1077/1666. Not content with this work, he commissioned another called *Ta'rikh-i Jahān Ārā*, also in the Chester Beatty Library, P. 278, a history of the Safavids from the foundation of the dynasty to the end of the reign of 'Abbās II (1666). The manuscript, which was



FIG 48 Soldiers sheltering during a blizzard
Tārīkh-i Jahān-ārū (author unknown). Folio = 26.5 × 18 cm. Persian, Isfahan style,
 1683. Chester Beatty Library, P. 278 (193a)

completed in 1094/1683, has seventeen miniatures which, although somewhat Europeanised, are far more in the Persian style than those by Muḥammad Zamān. It includes (folio 193a) an unusual painting of soldiers sheltering during a blizzard (FIG 48). Sulaymān I (Safī II) was succeeded in 1694 by his son Sultan Ḥusayn, the last of the Safavid rulers, who was weak and indecisive. Yet again Iran was beset by invaders; the Uzbeks attacked Khurasan and in 1722 the Afghans gained possession

of Isfahan. Illustrated manuscripts of this period are rare and the British Library has only one (Add. 7801) (FIG 46). The paintings are in a direct line, stylistically, with those in the anonymous history of Shah Ismā'īl I (Or. 3248) (PLATE 19) and appear to be Isfahan work. Though the name of the patron is not given it was probably someone of high rank at court. The miniatures, on account of their late 17th-century date, and the text itself, are historically of great interest. Called the *Jārūnnāma*, it is a poem by Qadri on the taking of Hormuz from the Portuguese in 1623 by Imām Qūli Khān. At that time Hormuz was known as Jārūn and had been held by the Portuguese since 1514. Shah 'Abbās I forced the East India Company to allow some ships to support the Persian land forces which were led by Imām Qūli Khān, and after a siege of two months the Portuguese were defeated. This poem was originally written in the lifetime of Imām Qūli Khān but the British Library copy contains additional material giving an account of his death and that of his children, murdered by Shah Safi I in 1633. The last three miniatures (folios 60b, 61b and 62a) are sad scenes of women mourning over coffins, and of Imām Qūli Khān taking leave of his sons before their execution. Five of the other seven miniatures are concerned with the taking of Hormuz, that on folio 43a (FIG 46) shows Imām Qūli Khān's men fighting the Portuguese in a sea battle.

After the occupation of Isfahan in 1722 by the Afghans, Sultan Ḥusayn abdicated. A tribal chief, Nādir Khān, drove the Afghans out of Isfahan in 1729 and eventually, in 1736, had himself crowned as Nādir Shah. Iran was in turmoil and India was invaded, sacked and pillaged. The Peacock Throne was seized in Delhi and sent to Tehran. Nādir Shah who became increasingly unstable and tyrannical was assassinated by his own officers in 1747.

Illustrated manuscripts continue to be a rarity until the accession, in 1797, of Fatḥ 'Alī Shah who revived the tradition of royal patronage of the arts. A history of Nādir Shah with Europeanised miniatures but of the quality to suggest a wealthy patron, was in private hands in Tehran until it was bought, about 1976, for inclusion in the royal Iranian library. Dated 1171/1756-7, it may have been produced for the regent Karīm Khān Zand at his capital of Shiraz for the miniatures are undoubtedly contemporary with the text. The chief painter to Karīm Khān Zand at Shiraz was Muḥammad Šādiq who flourished *circa* 1740-95. The miniatures in the 1756-7 history of Nādir Shah may have been his work as they foreshadow the style associated with the Qājār rulers, *circa* 1797-1850. Karīm Khān Zand ruled at Shiraz for twenty years (1759-1779). Civil war broke out after his death and led to the emergence of rule by the Qājār dynasty, when Āqā Muḥammad Qājār seized control.

With the accession of Fatḥ 'Alī Shah in 1797, the arts flourished in a way they had not done since the reign of 'Abbās I (d. 1629) in Isfahan. Fatḥ 'Alī Shah, who ruled from Tehran, had new painted lacquer covers⁽¹⁴⁾ made for the Tahmāsp Nizāmī. On both he is shown hunting, accompanied by some of his innumerable sons, gazing out of the painting as he wields his spear or blindly aims an arrow, his long black beard, of which he was so proud, waving in the breeze. Besides illustrated manuscripts, large oil paintings, lacquer pen-boxes, playing cards, mirror cases, and jewel caskets of that period are decorated with paintings, some signed by the court artists including Mirzā



FIG 49 Mirzā Muḥammad Khān Qājār (d. 1850). Portrait by Abu'l-Ḥasan Ghaffārī
Album. 30.5 × 20 cm. Persian, Qājār style, mid-19th century. Or. 4938 (10)

Bābā who was head of the Qājār studios until *circa* 1803, and by his successor, Mihr 'Alī. Patronage continued under Fath 'Alī Shah's son and successor, Muḥammad Shah, who reigned 1834–1848.

One of the leading court painters, Abu'l-Ḥasan Ghaffārī, who came from a distinguished family of Kashan, began his career as a pupil of Mihr 'Alī. Born in 1229/1814, son of Muḥammad Ḥasan, one of Fath 'Alī Shah's artists, he was appointed court painter in 1842 by Muḥammad Shāh, who sent him to Italy to study. On his return in 1850 he was appointed head of the studios by Nāsir al-Dīn Shah who had succeeded to the throne in 1848. Nāsir al-Dīn Shah was very interested in painting and, in the true tradition of royal patrons in Iran, commissioned a monumental work.

Not, this time, a lavishly illustrated copy of the *Shāhnāma*, but of the *Thousand and One Nights*. The British Library collections contain an album (Or. 4938) which consists of paintings, sketches and photographs, mainly dating from the reign of Nāsir al-Dīn and which includes sketches by him of animals (folio 20) and dancing girls (folio 17). The portraits, apart from a contemporary painting of Karīm Khān Zand (d. 1799) (folio 1) and of Muḥammad Shāh (folio 2) dated 1847, the year before his death, are all of officials, courtiers or ministers of Nāsir al-Dīn. Six of these portraits and a sketch are by Abu'l-Ḥasan Ghaffārī. The portraits include that of the court official (folio 10) (FIG 49), Mirzā Muḥammad Khān Qājār, who died in 1850. He was successively *kisikchi bāshī*, *sipāh salār* and Prime Minister. The sketches in this album are particularly interesting, for they include, besides those by Nāsir al-Dīn, a pencil portrait sketch (folio 13) by Abu'l-Ḥasan Ghaffārī's son and four sketches by Abu'l-Ḥasan Ghaffārī himself (FIG 74) for the huge illustrated copy of the *Arabian Nights*. As head of the *naqqāshkhāna* (studios), Abu'l-Ḥasan Ghaffārī, who is often referred to only by his title *sani' al-mulūk* (artist of the kingdom) which was bestowed upon him by Nāsir al-Dīn in 1861, was in charge of the organisation of this tremendous project, besides painting some of the illustrations. Altogether thirty-four artists were employed on illustrating the stories, the manuscript being completed in six volumes in 1855, after seven years had been spent on its production. It contains over four thousand illustrations of which some seventy-six are reproduced in colour in one of the catalogues of the manuscripts in the Gulistan Palace Library in Tehran⁽¹⁵⁾. Seventy-six out of four thousand might seem to be a drop in a mighty ocean but in fact they provide a good cross-section, demonstrating the different styles of the artists, the work of some being far more Europeanised than that of others. The review of Islamic art, *Hunar u Mardum* includes interesting articles (in Fārsī)⁽¹⁶⁾ on the life and work of Abu'l-Ḥasan Ghaffārī.

Shiraz was still producing fine manuscripts in the 19th century. Luṭf 'Alī Khān of Shiraz, who died in 1869, was responsible for some of the miniatures in a heavily illustrated copy of the *Shāhnāma*. It was produced at Shiraz in the 1850s and '60s for the poet, Vassāl, and until the mid-1970s was still in the possession of the same family. One of the illustrations, that of the fire ordeal of Siyāvush, is a remarkable composition. This incident in the *Shāhnāma*, has inspired artists (PLATE 7) all down the centuries, and this 19th-century painting is worthy of the tradition. The palace in the background is lit up by the flames through which Siyāvush rides while a row of onlookers in the foreground are silhouetted against the brilliant light.

In an article⁽¹⁷⁾ he wrote for *Hunar u Mardum*, Muḥammad 'Alī Jamāl-zāda commented on the strange fact that, though the artist Mirzā Muḥammad Ghaffārī, Kamāl al-Mulūk, is considered by many Iranians to be their greatest artist of this century, not only is his work totally unrepresented in the great museums and galleries of the world, but it is very little known outside Iran. Anyone who has seen this artist's work in Iran, particularly in the Gulistan Palace and the Majlis (Parliament) building in Tehran, will echo these words. His oil paintings, whether portraits, street scenes, landscapes or incidents in the daily life of Iran, have captured the character and atmosphere of the people and the country as no other artist has done.

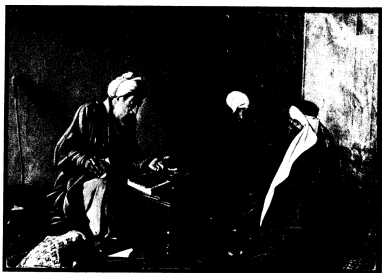


FIG 50 The Fortune-teller. By Mirzā Muḥammad Ghaffārī, *Kamāl al-Mulk* (d. 1940)
Oil painting, 20th century. Tehran Collection

Mirzā Muḥammad Ghaffārī was a nephew of Abu'l-Ḥasan Ghaffārī, and, like his uncle, was a court artist. Very long-lived – he was born in 1848 and died in 1940 – he received the title of *Kamāl al-mulk*, i.e. perfection of the state, by which he is usually known, from Nāsir al-Dīn Shah in 1893. Also like his uncle before him, he was sent to Europe to study, going there in 1897 and returning to Iran in 1905, where he founded the School of Fine Arts in Tehran in 1911⁽¹⁸⁾. One of his paintings, entitled *The Fortune-Teller*, which was sold at Christies' Sale of 11 October 1979 in London (Lot 70), is reproduced in colour in the sale catalogue. In that painting, the elderly fortune-teller seems to have given good news of the future to his client, a young woman, for both she and her friend appear amused and delighted. This is not so in another painting (FIG 50) by Kamāl al-Mulk, also of a fortune-teller. In this painting the artist has conveyed a haunting sense of foreboding by the earnest manner in which the fortune-teller leans forward to emphasize a point and by the anxiety in the eyes of the veiled girl and in the deep concern of her companion.

Some attempt has been made to recapture the unique qualities of the Persian miniature, but present-day painting bears no comparison with the work of earlier centuries.

Judaeo-Persian illustrated manuscripts

Judaeo-Persian is Fārsī (the Persian language) written in Hebrew characters. As Asmussen points out,⁽¹⁹⁾ Persian Jews, besides translating Hebrew works, transliterated the works of poets of Iran, including Nizāmī, Ḥāfiz and Sa'dī. No manuscripts with miniatures earlier than the 17th century are known and of these, besides the Persian works, those of two Jewish authors are illustrated. Shāhīn, a 14th-century Jewish poet from Shiraz wrote poetical versions of certain books of the Bible somewhat on the lines of the *Shāhnāma*. A 16th-century poet 'Imrānī, using the same epic style, wrote the Book of Conquest (*Fathnāma*). The British Library has an illustrated manuscript (Or. 13704) of this work which was purchased at the Sassoon Sale held on 5 November 1975 by Sotheby's at Zurich. It contains poetical paraphrases of the Old Testament Books of Joshua, Ruth and Samuel, which had not been included in Shāhīn's versions. The only one of the three to be illustrated is the Book of Joshua⁽²⁰⁾, the first in the manuscript (folios 1-90b). The subjects of the illustrations include the priests carrying the Ark over the River Jordan (folio 15a), Joshua's men encircling Jericho and blowing trumpets (folio 31b) and Joshua leading the attack against Jericho (folio 32a). Three other battle scenes include two against the Kings of the Amorites (folios 75a and 85a). These miniatures are typical of such paintings, which are, in this instance, more interesting for the stories they illustrate than for their execution, as they are rather poor examples of the late 17th-century Isfahan style. A dated copy (1686) of the poem of the Book of Moses by Shāhīn, with similar miniatures, is in the Bazalel National Art Museum in Jerusalem.

The other manuscript in the British Library (Or. 4730) illustrated in the same style is an incomplete copy of the *Haft Paykar* (Seven Portraits), the poem concerned with Bahrām Gūr, from the *Khamse* of Nizāmī, which belonged to Sydney Churchill. It contains thirteen damaged and retouched miniatures which appear to be late 17th century and contemporary with the text. Both the beginning and the end have been lost so that any colophon there might have been, with information about date, scribe or place of copying, has disappeared. The illustrations are of the usual subjects of this poem, i.e. of Bahrām Gūr hunting (folios 16b and 35b), 'practice makes perfect' (folio 39b), the Seven Pavilions (73a, 81b, 90b, 98b, 114b, 128a and 129a) and the dragon (141b).

The third illustrated Judaeo-Persian manuscript in the British Library is an anthology (Or. 10194) of poems by the Persian poets Ḥāfiz, Sa'dī and others, and is part of the Gaster Collection (Gaster 776). The five miniatures are all in the mid-19th-century Qājār style. Two are paintings of women (folios 8b and 30b), two of dervishes (46b and 69b) and one (28b) of a warrior.

Unlike Persian-inspired miniatures in Georgian manuscripts, those in Judaeo-Persian works are not a mixture of styles but are completely Iranian in character. Artists' names which might give a clue to their origin are not, so far, known, but as in Indian Sultanate painting, it is to be hoped that illustrated Judaeo-Persian manuscripts may come to light which have informative colophons and an artist's signature.

It is most probable that Persian Jews illustrated the manuscripts as, especially where the biblical stories were concerned, they would need to have been able to read the text to have illustrated them so accurately.

The Isfahan style and late seventeenth-century Georgian painting

Whereas those Judaeo-Persian illustrated manuscripts known so far contain miniatures in a Persian late 17th-century style connected with Isfahan or 19th-century Qājār work, Georgian illustrations, however Persianised, were always a mixture of styles, retaining vestiges of Georgian characteristics.

Shah Tahmāsp sent four expeditions against Georgia between 1540 and 1551 and employed the Georgian artist, Siyāvush Beg, at his Tabriz academy. In the reign of Shah 'Abbās the role of the Georgians became very important in his struggle to break the dominance of the *qizilbash* nobles of different tribes and he formed a regiment and a personal bodyguard from the ranks of the Georgians and Circassians. Iranian political dominance of Georgia in the 17th century would account for the fact that Isfahan painting is the predominant style in some illustrated manuscripts. The most Persianised may be the work of an Isfahan-trained artist working in Georgia, others may have been influenced by miniatures in manuscripts taken from Iran to Georgia.

Besides illustrated manuscripts of Persian epics and romantic poems translated into Georgian, including the *Shāhnāma*, *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā*, *Kalīla wa Dimna* and others, copies of the great Georgian epic, *The Knight in the Panther's Skin* by Shota Rustaveli, were illustrated in an Isfahan style. The British Library collection does not include any Georgian manuscripts with Persianised miniatures but a copy of *The Knight in the Panther's Skin* (MS Wardrop d. 27) in the Bodleian Library⁽²¹⁾ has twenty-one illustrations incorporating Isfahan characteristics against a Georgian background. The Bodleian manuscript, lacking folios at the beginning and end, has lost any details of date, place or scribe but, like most manuscripts illustrated in this Persianised style, probably dates from the second half of the 17th century.

Another undated copy of the same epic of similar date to the Bodleian manuscript, S 5006 in the Institute of Manuscripts of the Georgian Academy of Sciences, has been published by Iuza Khuskivadze⁽²²⁾ who has reproduced one miniature in colour and nine in black and white. It would appear that one of the artists (colour plate I, black and white 3) had been trained in the Persian style of painting or was himself an Iranian artist working in Georgia, for his work is almost indistinguishable from that of Persian artists working in Iran in the late 17th century. Other miniatures in this manuscript, like those in the Bodleian Library, include facial characteristics, landscapes and compositions which are predominantly Georgian and may be the work of Georgian pupils of Persian artists.

SHAH 'ABBĀS THE GREAT AND HIS SUCCESSORS

- (1) B.W. Robinson, 'Two Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the Marquess of Bute, Part II: Anwar-i Suhayli (Bute MS 347),' *Oriental Art*, 18(1), Spring 1972.
- (2) M.B. Dickson and S.C. Welch, *The Houghton Shahnameh*, Vol.I, Appendix 1: 'The Canons of Painting by Sidiqi Bek,' 1981, pp. 259-269.
- (3) I. Stchoukine, *Les Peintures des manuscrits de Shah 'Abbas Ier a la fin des Safavids*, Paris, 1964.
- (4) E.J. Grube, *Muslim Miniature Paintings from the XIII to XIX century from Collections in the United States and Canada*, Venice, 1962, pp. 123-5, PLATE 105.
- (5) E.J. Grube, 'The Spencer and the Gulestan Shah-Nama,' *Pantheon* XXII, 1964, pp. 9-28.
- (6) A. Welch, *Shah 'Abbas and the arts of Isfahan*, New York, 1973, PLATES 52a and b.
- (7) B.W. Robinson, *Persian Paintings in the John Rylands Library: A Descriptive Catalogue*, 1980, pp. 295-329.
- (8) F.E. Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Farsça Yazarlar Kataloğu No. 1-940*, İstanbul, 1961, p. 221, No. 645.
- (9) C. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 1888, pp. 187-8.
- (10) N.M. Titley, *Miniatures from Turkish manuscripts: Catalogue and Subject Index of Paintings in the British Library and British Museum*, 1981, p. 37.
- (11) M.Y. Dawud & A.K. Coenaraswamy (translators), *Burning and Melting*, London 1912.
- (12) A.A. Ivanov, 'The life of Muhammad Zaman: a Reconsideration', trans. by J.M. Rogers, *Iran*, Vol. XVII, 1979, pp. 65-70.
- (13) R.M. Savory, (trans.) *History of Shah 'Abbas the Great (Tarikh-i Alamāra-yi 'Abbāsī) by Iskandar Beg Munshi*, 2 vols. *Persian Heritage Series*, 28, Colorado, 1979.
- (14) B.W. Robinson, 'A Pair of Royal book-covers,' *Oriental Art* Vol. X, No. 1, Spring, 1964, pp. 32-36.
- (15) B. Azabav, *Fihrist-i Dīdār-ka-yi Khattī va Kitāb-i hanar va yakshab-i Kitābkhāna-i Sultānātī*, 1976.
- (16) Z. Yahya, Mirza Abu'l-Hasan Khan, *Janī al-mulk Ghaffārī. Hanar u Mardam*, Year 1345.
- (17) M.A. Jamālīzāda, 'Kamal al-Mulk,' *Hanar u Mardam*, Year 1344, No. 35, pp. 6-16.
- (18) M.T. Danishehpazuh, 'Kamal al-Mulk,' *Hanar u Mardam*, year 1354, No. 150, (pp. 63-67), No. 151 (pp. 63-68) and No. 152 (pp. 62-66).
- (19) J.P. Asmusen, 'Studies in Judaeo-Persian Literature,' *Studia Post-Biblica* Vol. 24, Leyden, 1973.
- (20) J. Gutmann, 'Judaeo-Persian Miniatures,' *No Graven Images*, New York, 1971, pp. 466-488, figs 11-12.
- (21) B. Gray, 'The Man in the Panther Skin,' *The Bodleian Library Record*, Vol. III (32), August, 1951, pp. 194-198.
- (22) Iuzia Khuskivadze, *Georgian Secular Miniatures (Sic), XVI-XVIII centuries*, Tbilisi, 1976, (In Georgian with summary and list of plates in English.)

Ottoman Turkey

The collection of illustrated Turkish manuscripts in the British Library⁽¹⁾ includes some with miniatures which demonstrate the influence of Persian painting and others with paintings which are characteristic of the distinctive and realistic Ottoman styles. This collection, though fairly small (some sixty illustrated manuscripts), is one of the finest outside Turkey, and represents the full spectrum of the styles of painting to be found in Ottoman manuscripts. Albums, both of portraits of the sultans and of varied content, collections of fables and stories, historical works, epic, romantic and narrative poems, anthologies, encyclopaedias, as well as volumes of maps and diagrams, are all included. Two manuscripts, Harleian 5500 which is a collection of anecdotes, legends and tales, and Sloane 3584, a campaign chronicle, were part of the foundation collections of the British Museum library⁽²⁾ when it was formed in 1752. The Ottoman manuscripts came to the Department of Oriental Manuscripts when it was set up in 1867 and were transferred again when the Department became part of the British Library in 1973.

The collection does not include any manuscripts of royal provenance, the vast majority of which are, quite rightly, still in Istanbul. An inscription in one late 16th-century encyclopaedic work (Add. 7894) states that it was prepared for a high ranking Palace official (*kaptan başı*) and it is probable that other manuscripts in the collection were copied and illustrated for similar patrons. From the late 15th century, Ottoman miniature painting appears to fall, broadly, into two main categories. Firstly there are the artists influenced by the more romantic Persian styles, notably of Herat, Shiraz or Tabriz, and secondly, and in greater numbers, are those who demonstrate the Ottoman preference for realism, both in choice of subject and in its interpretation.

The situation in Turkey was unlike that of Iran where political power was divided between a number of regional centres until, at the end of the 16th century, centralisation of government was brought about by Shah 'Abbās I. From 1453 Ottoman Turkey was ruled by the Sultan from his capital. In Turkey, as in Iran, and also in Sultanate and Mughal India, the main patronage of book production lay with those wealthy enough to support the studios and staff, in this case the Sultan himself. The stability of the capital at Istanbul meant that, from the 15th century, Ottoman painting could develop virtually uninterrupted, in contrast to the state of affairs in Iran with its changing rulers, political upheaval and constant threats of invasion. The problems which caused artists and craftsmen to move from one patron to another at various times in different parts of Iran did not arise in Turkey where the continuity of Istanbul as the capital also ensured that the palace library was not sacked or looted.

Manuscripts which found their way there from Iran during the late 15th century onwards, whether as booty or, after the mid-16th century, as diplomatic gifts, have remained part of the Topkapı Sarayı collection to this day.

The Topkapı Sarayı possesses one of the finest collections of illustrated Persian manuscripts, being particularly rich in those of the 15th century connected with the early period of Herat painting and of Shiraz. It goes without saying that the collection of Ottoman manuscripts there is the finest in existence, for the great majority of the royal Ottoman illustrated chronicles, histories and albums commissioned by the Sultans have remained undisturbed.

Ottoman artists working in the Sultans' studios could not fail to have been influenced by such exquisite work as the Persian miniatures that were readily to hand. In addition they were taught by, and worked side by side with, Persian artists during the same period. Undoubtedly the artists taken from Iran to Istanbul were the primary influence on Ottoman miniature painting in spite of the fact that European artists were working at the court of Mehmed II (d. 1481). These Italian artists included Gentile Bellini who visited Istanbul between 1479 and 1481 and who painted a famous portrait of Mehmed II holding a rose¹³. The influence of Italian painters, which was paramount in Turkish portraiture in the 15th century, remained in this genre alone, whether of large oil paintings or of portraits gathered together in albums (PLATE 31).

Bayazid II (d. 1512) did not share his predecessor's interest in western painting, but preferred the art of book illustration and under his patronage manuscripts in the Islamic tradition continued to be copied and illustrated at the Palace atelier. Archival records in the Topkapı Sarayı list artists working there, including ten who were employed by Bayazid II, as well as others working for his successor Salim I (d. 1520). Some of the same names appear again, in later registers, demonstrating that artists continued to work under the patronage of Salim I's successor, Süleymân I (d. 1566).

Although Persian artists had been taken to Turkey from Iran in the 15th century, it was early in the 16th that they arrived in considerable numbers, to teach and to work on manuscripts in the palace studios. In 1514, Salim I defeated the Iranians under the command of the first Safavid ruler, Ismâ'il (d. 1524) at the Battle of Chaldiran and levied a contribution of craftsmen, many of whom were skilled in various facets of the production of fine books. These men included calligraphers, artists, illuminators and bookbinders and it is recorded that, in 1516-17, over a hundred such craftsmen and their families were taken to Istanbul. Undoubtedly it was also at this time that many of the illustrated Persian manuscripts still in the Topkapı Sarayı collections were taken there. More artists and manuscripts were taken at intervals during the first half of the 16th century, because the Ottoman army raided Iran, particularly Tabriz, in 1534 and 1538 and again in 1547-8 when Shah Tahmâsp's academy was at its height. The reign of Süleymân I (1520-1566) ran almost parallel with that of Tahmâsp (1524-1574), but it was not until 1555 that the two rulers signed a peace treaty and manuscripts began to reach Turkey from Iran as diplomatic gifts.

Registers in the Topkapı Sarayı archives record that sixteen artists were taken from Tabriz to work in Istanbul after the Ottoman victory in 1514. Some list the Turkish

artists separately from foreign ones, and several of the latter bear the name al-Tabrizi. One record dated 1545 gives separate lists but in 1557 only Turkish names occur; in 1558, however, they are again separated, with twenty-six Turkish artists listed and nine foreigners (including certainly a number of Persians). Muşafâ 'Alî⁴ who gives so much information about the *nakkashane*, (Pers. *naqqāshkhāna*) or studio, and the artists and others working there, states that by the end of the 16th century Turkish artists were firmly in control and that the heyday of the Persians in the studios was over.

Badi' al-Zamān Mirzā, son of the famous Persian patron, Sultan Husayn (d. 1506), like so many of his compatriots, left Herat in the face of the Uzbek onslaught for the comparative safety of Tabriz. From Tabriz, in about 1515, he went to Istanbul to the Ottoman court of Salīm I. He probably took manuscripts with him but these do not appear to have included any with miniatures in the later Herat style associated with the patronage of his father. The Topkapı Sarayı Library is singularly lacking in examples of the work of Sultan Husayn's artists apart from one manuscript (Hazine 676) of the poems of Amīr-Khusraw with a superb double-page hunting scene (folios 1b-2a). A detached painting from the same manuscript is in the Freer Gallery of Art (37-27) in Washington, D.C.⁵

From the middle of the 16th century, splendid manuscripts and paintings were sent from Iran as diplomatic gifts to the current Sultan of Turkey, superb albums and the famous Houghton *Shāhnāma* amongst them. The *Shāhnāma*, which was presented to Salīm II (d. 1574) by Shah Tahmāsp in 1568, remained in the royal Ottoman Library until at least the beginning of the 19th century. Later, in 1576, Tahmāsp's ambassador, Tūqmāq Khān, was received with great pomp in Istanbul where he arrived with gifts which included manuscripts. Among them was the album (F. 1422), now in Istanbul University Library. This album includes exquisite *Kalīla va Dimna* animal paintings of an earlier century, and two Houghton *Shāhnāma* miniatures of *circa* 1527, of which one, depicting Rustam seeing Tahmīna for the first time, is unfinished. Another album, this time in the Topkapı Sarayı Library (Hazine 2161), contains examples of the finest work of Shah Tahmāsp's academy, including miniatures, illumination, calligraphy and preliminary sketches (FIG 73).

In February 1594, an ambassador of the Uzbek Khān, 'Abd Allāh II, was sent with presents for Murād III, including a fine copy of a *Shāhnāma* dated 1564-5. This manuscript, illustrated by twenty-eight miniatures in the contemporary style of Bukhara, is still in the Topkapı Sarayı (Hazine 1488). In September 1619, in the reign of 'Uşmān II, Shah Abbās I sent, in addition to illustrated manuscripts, gifts of exotic animals which included four elephants, a panther and a rhinoceros. The arrival of these animals and other gifts brought by the ambassador, Yakdar 'Alī, is the subject of a painting in an illustrated history, written by Nādirī, which was produced between 1620 and 1622 (Hazine 1124).

With so much emphasis on the relations between the rulers of Iran and Ottoman Turkey, whether good or bad, and all the activity which took place between Shah Tahmāsp and the Ottoman Sultans, it might be thought that the prevailing 16th-century Persian influence on Turkish miniature painting would be confined to that of

the Tabriz style. This is indeed true of one group of manuscripts (FIGS 52 and 53) but others are also visibly influenced by both the earlier style of Herat of *circa* 1430, which lingered on until late in the 16th century, and that of mid-16th-century Shiraz. The latter influence is particularly apparent in illustrations to late 16th-century Ottoman works on the martyrdom of Husayn and of the history of the Prophet Muhammad and members of his family (PLATE 25). Another Shiraz style of *circa* 1560–70 appears to have influenced miniatures to a manuscript of the *Humāyūnnāme* (Add. 15153), a free adaptation of the *Ansār-i Suhaylī*. The elegant style connected with Herat can be seen as the strongest influence on certain other miniatures, including those illustrating a Turkish version of *Khusraw u Shīrīn* (*Hüsrev ve Şirin*) by Shaykhī (Şeyhi) (Or. 2708) (PLATE 24).

Another manuscript of Shaykhī's work in the British Library (Or. 14010), dating from the late 15th century, is in a completely different style. The importance of this rare manuscript, which was probably produced during the reign of Bayazid II (1481–1512), lies in the illustrations, which are very early examples of the true Ottoman style and clearly demonstrate the difference between the work of Persian and Ottoman artists, even at this unusually early date. The subtle colours, complicated rock patterns, haphazard grouping of people and tents, romanticised landscapes (all so characteristic of the Persian miniature) have already given way to a simplified palette, plain rocks and landscapes, and – a typically Ottoman feature – tents, soldiers and palace officials lined up with military precision in their appointed rows and ranks. Other uniquely Ottoman characteristics are the fastenings, on tunics and kaftans, in the form of gold frogging, pine trees (never seen in Persian miniatures but familiar on the shores of the Bosphorus) and the accuracy with which ships, boats and galleys are drawn, as befits a sea-faring nation. From the early 16th century, the Ottoman artists' preference for realism is clearly shown in the faces, for the strong, 'warts and all', almost caricatured features (FIG 52) are in total contrast to the round expressionless faces typical of the Persian miniature. Another exclusively Ottoman characteristic is the strange way in which heads are drawn, the back of the head merging with an elongated neck in a long straight line.

Some late 15th- or early 16th-century manuscripts, possibly worked on by both Persian and Ottoman artists, include typical Ottoman architecture against a Persianised background. The emphasis on straight lines, the grey tiles on roofs and domes and the balconies which jut out from a building at right-angles, are all Ottoman features. There is, too, an unusual convention used for depicting mountains in which single rocks are built up in tiers, each one slightly resembling a peacock feather. These rocks only occur in Ottoman miniatures up to *circa* 1528 and are never seen in later Turkish miniatures or in Persian paintings. They form the background in the delightful illustration in the small Shaykhī (Şeyhi) manuscript (Or. 14010) of Shīrīn (Şirin) visiting Farhād (Ferhad) (folio 122a) (PLATE 21). Farhād is running, arms outstretched, alive with joy and delight, to greet his beloved Shīrīn. She has arrived on horseback to find out about the progress of the great task he has undertaken – to carve a canal to carry milk from the sheep pastures through the mountains to her palace. Persian miniatures which illustrate this scene are almost invariably static and

OTTOMAN TURKEY



PLATE 21 Farhād running to greet Shirīn
Khamisa of Shaykhī, 9.5 × 6.7 cm. Ottoman Turkish,
late 15th century. Or. 14010 (122a)



PLATE 22 Battle between Khusraw and Sāya Khān
Khamisa of Shaykhī, 9.8 × 7.2 cm. Ottoman Turkish,
late 15th century. Or. 14010 (28b)

OTTOMAN TURKEY

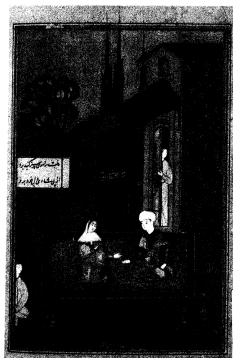


PLATE 23 Bahrām Gūr
and the princess in the Green Pavilion
Khamasa of Nizāmī. 15.7 × 10.2 cm. Ottoman Turkish,
circa 1520. Or. 13948 (35b)

PLATE 24 Shīrīn looking at the portrait of Khusraw
Khusraw u Shīrīn by Shaykhī. 7.7 × 8.5 cm.
Ottoman Turkish, circa 1575. Or. 2708 (17a)



OTTOMAN TURKEY

PLATE 26 The poet Bâqî
Dîvân of Bâqî. 16 × 8.2 cm. Ottoman Turkish,
second half of the 16th century.
Or. 7084 (12)

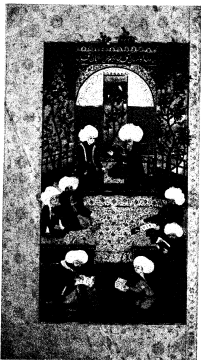


PLATE 25 Abraham saved from the fire by a miracle
Hadîqat al-sâ'adâ by Fuẓûlî. 15 × 11.5 cm. Ottoman Turkish,
late 16th century. Or. 12009 (15b)





PLATE 27 Khvurshidshāh visited by King Tujār
Qissa-yi Farrukhrās, from the Persian by Farāmarz ibn Khudādād. 21 × 14.3 cm.
 Ottoman Turkish, circa 1600. Or. 3298 (50a)

FIG 51 Graveyard discussion
Gulistan of Sa'di. 17 x 9 cm. Persian
 (Herat style) miniature of 1474, added to and
 altered in Ottoman Turkey *circa* 1520.
 Durham University Library, Or. Pers. 1 (81b)



stylised, even those of the 15th century when well-worn subjects were often treated in a more original manner. In Persian miniatures illustrating this story, whether the version by the poet Nizami or that by Amir Khusraw, Farhad is usually just standing looking at Shirin or taking the vessel she offers him. No ecstatic greetings, no running or waving of arms are admitted in the Persian artists' interpretation of this story: nor, it must be said, in later, 16th-century, Ottoman miniatures.

Certain Ottoman characteristics usually to be found in illustrations to late 16th-century chronicles and historical works, occur in a battle scene (folio 28b) (PLATE 22) in the same manuscript. This must be one of the earliest examples of this type of Ottoman painting. The minute ships out at sea, the tiny soldiers on the cliffs and the Turkish tents drawn up in rows are uniquely Ottoman at a time when miniature painting in Turkey was strongly influenced by Persian art and artists. The miniatures in this late 15th-century manuscript (Or. 14010) of *Khusraw u Shirin* (*Hüsrev ve Şirin*) are undoubtedly very important in the study of Ottoman painting.

The change of ruling dynasty in the north-east of Iran at the end of the 15th century caused artists to flee from Herat to sanctuary with Shah Isma'il I at Tabriz, taking manuscripts from the Herat library with them. Some of these much-travelled manuscripts were later taken to Istanbul after the defeat of Isma'il in 1514. Two of them, one now in Durham University Library (Or. Pers. 1)⁽⁶⁾ (FIG 51) and the other in

the British Library (Or. 13948) (PLATE 23) demonstrate the use to which they were put in the Palace studios in Istanbul. The Durham *Gulistan*, which is dated 878/1474, had its beautiful miniatures altered and added to while the British Library's *Khamṣa* of Nizāmī (Or. 13948) was completed with Ottoman miniatures painted in spaces left blank in the body of the volume, which had originally been copied at Herat *circa* 1490. Both manuscripts are fine examples of the splendid work produced under the patronage of Sultan Husayn at Herat. The Durham manuscript originally had nine miniatures in the exquisite early style of the Herat academy, but faces have been retouched, redrawn or deliberately damaged in every painting. In some miniatures, the original landscape is intact but in one (folio 81b) the foreground has been extensively damaged and an Ottoman mosque and city have been added (FIG 51) to the background of this illustration to the story of the meeting between a wealthy man and the sons of a dervish, at the tomb of the dervish (folio 81b).

The British Library manuscript (Or. 13948), a copy in Persian of three of the poems of Nizāmī, is a typical example of the fine calligraphy and illumination associated with the same Herat academy, probably some twenty years later, *circa* 1490–94. This time the evidence of the skill of the Herat academy lies in the illumination (see Plate 45 for similar work) and calligraphy. The manuscript was not illustrated in Iran at Herat, nor after it reached Tabriz early in the 16th century. The six spaces which had been left blank were eventually filled by Turkish artists and, judging by the Ottoman style of the paintings of *circa* 1520, the manuscript was probably one of those taken from Tabriz to Istanbul in 1517. The miniatures are in the Ottoman style connected with the early part of the reign of Sulaymān I and in one painting (folio 17a)⁽⁷⁾ the 'peacock-tail' rocks are still in evidence. These six miniatures, including that of Bahrām Gūr with the Princess in the Green Pavilion (folio 35b) (PLATE 23), are stylistically typical of true Ottoman painting. Angular and somewhat stiff, with straight lines and a limited range of colours, they are far removed from the style of miniatures being produced at the same time in Iran. Persian paintings such as those of the Tabriz academy with their sumptuous and crowded compositions and wide range of jewel-like colours, seen at their best in the famous Houghton *Shāhnāma* of *circa* 1525–37 (FIG 39) and the *Khamṣa* of Nizāmī of 1539–43 (PLATE 10) produced for Shah Tahmāsp, make interesting comparison with their Ottoman counterparts.

There is no evidence of Persian influence in the paintings added to the Herat manuscript (Or. 13948), but there is another group of miniatures in which it is not easy to distinguish the provenance, whether Tabriz or Istanbul. All the manuscripts concerned are copies of the poems of Mīr 'Alī Shīr Navā'ī, written in Eastern Turkish, and dating from *circa* 1520 to 1535. There are three such manuscripts in the British Library (Or. 13061 (FIG 52), Or. 4125 and Or. 5346 (FIG 53))⁽⁸⁾, several at the Topkapı Sarayı, as well as others in Istanbul in the University Library and the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art. Of the three in the British Library, Or. 13061 appears to be the earliest and also shows the strongest Tabriz influence, both in the paintings and in the illumination. Besides a *shamsa* giving the titles of the works in this *Divān*, there are nine beautifully illuminated *'unwāns*, in addition to decorated triangles which serve as verse divisions, another typical Tabriz feature. Another



FIG 52 A young prince entertained
Gharā'ib al-sighar by Navā'i. 10.8 × 8 cm.
Ottoman Turkish, circa 1520–30. Or. 13061 (125b)



FIG 53 Polo players
Gharā'ib al-sighar by Navā'i. 14.5 × 9 cm.
Ottoman Turkish, circa 1520–30. Or. 5346 (85a, detail)

characteristic is the whirling arabesque design used at the end of a work (FIG 80) possibly derived from Tabriz originals, such as that in the famous Tahmāsp *Khamṣa* of Nizāmī (FIG 81). The whirling arabesque in the Navā'i manuscript is simpler with smaller flowers while the illuminated *uncvāns* and verse divisions are almost certainly derived from Tabriz originals. Neither the date nor the place of copying are given in the colophon of the *Divān* (Or. 13061) but details in the miniatures provide a strong clue as to the provenance of the paintings. These demonstrate, in one and the same painting, the characteristic realism of Ottoman work set against a background of Persian romanticism to such a degree that these miniatures might well be examples of the joint work of Ottoman and Persian artists. Evidence is provided in the miniature

(folio 125b) (FIG 52) of a young prince enthroned out-of-doors and surrounded by the usual servants and courtiers. The large gold throne is set near a stream which is flowing between banks of flowering plants. The faces and figures of the courtiers and pages are as stylised and expressionless as that of their master, except for those of the two men kneeling in the foreground absorbed in animated conversation. The features of these two men are in complete contrast to the traditional Persian idealised sage or courtier. Their faces, typically Turkish, are full of expression and alive with humour and vitality. This manuscript was for some time considered to have been of Tabriz origin, but the two characters mentioned above must place it firmly in Ottoman Turkey, almost certainly in Istanbul. Dr Filiz Çağman, Librarian at the Topkapı Sarayı Museum in Istanbul, read a paper⁽⁹⁾ on the same subject at the Vth International Congress of Turkish Art. She traces the origin of the style of painting in this group of manuscripts as having been formed in Herat in the 1490s. The *Divân-i Husaynî* in the Topkapı Sarayı (EH 1636) (FIG 79) which is dated Herat, 1492, sets the original pattern for this style, which was further developed in Tabriz, and in which so many copies of the collected poems of Navâ'i, the *Gharā'ib al-şigar*, were to be illustrated in the period *circa* 1520–35. Both Or. 13061 and another Navâ'i manuscript, Or. 5346 (folio 85a), include miniatures of polo scenes in which the Tabriz convention of the heads of the sticks arranged in a circle round the ball (FIG 53) occurs. Or. 5346 appears to be somewhat later than Or. 13061, for the miniatures, whilst retaining Tabriz characteristics, include Ottoman details in several paintings, besides facial characteristics. A dwarf carrying a large flagon occurs among the people in one miniature (folio 2a) and a typically Ottoman scene of mounted archers at target practice is the subject of another (folio 15a)⁽¹⁰⁾. Safavid 'batons' in the turbans and the Persianised round faces are still to be seen in the miniatures in Or. 5346 but the colour range is restricted and the illuminated page decorations do not begin to approach the quality of the work in Or. 13061. The binding of the latter is in keeping with the quality of the rest of the manuscript, being typical of the fine work associated with Ottoman bookbinders. The doublures are particularly beautiful, for the inside of both covers and the flap are ornamented with gilt paper cut in a filigree pattern pasted on to a dark blue background.

Although manuscripts were increasingly illustrated with miniatures typical of the distinctive Ottoman style during the second half of the 16th century, the influence of Persian styles lingered on throughout the same period. The influence of Shiraz is clearly discernible in some, that of Tabriz, as already discussed, in others, while proof of the lasting quality of Herat elegance is evident in a late 16th-century copy of *Khusrav u Shīrīn* by Shaykhī (Şeyhî) (Or. 2708). It is an interesting fact that the miniatures in the two Ottoman manuscripts of this work in the British Library are in styles that, chronologically, are the opposite to what might be expected. The first, Or. 14010 (PLATES 21 and 22) is of the late 15th century and the other, Or. 2708, (PLATE 24), of about a hundred years later. As a general rule, the few manuscripts extant which can be ascribed to the period of Bayazid II (1481–1512) are strongly influenced by Persian artists. Persian manuscripts of the finest quality, such as *Hazine* 781 (FIG 13), which was produced in Herat in 1445–6 and taken to Istanbul

and bears the seal of Bayazid II, must have inspired Ottoman artists. However, Or. 14010, which probably dates from the reign of Bayazid II, is very much in the 'chronicle' style of the late 16th century. Conversely, the miniatures in Or. 2708 display the romanticism and elegance associated with Herat work of a century earlier. These characteristics are apparent in the miniature (folio 17a) (PLATE 24), of Shirin looking at the portrait of Khusraw, both in the elongated and delicate figures and in the landscape. The Persian influence in this late 16th-century manuscript is confined to the miniatures, for the gold border paintings are totally Ottoman in style and in character. Apart from the folios which bear miniatures, every border has a drawing in gold within a triangle. These are all unmistakably Ottoman for they include janissaries, dervishes, caricatured Turkish faces, monsters, ghouls, birds and beasts. Vignettes within the triangles either on, or opposite, the pages of illustrations usually contain a detail connected with the subject of the miniatures; for example, in the miniature reproduced the falconer in the triangle is possibly intended to be a study of Khusraw. In all, there are over one hundred and seventy gold drawings in the borders of this manuscript, the subjects ranging from the realistic to the grotesque or mythical.

The painting styles connected with Shiraz had a strong influence on certain groups of manuscripts produced in Ottoman Turkey, just as they had earlier in Sultanate Indian painting. Shiraz artists, from the 14th century to the late 16th century, evolved their own styles which were quite distinctive from those of other centres in Iran such as Herat or Tabriz. In the middle and late 16th century the miniatures ranged from those of small format, painted in the borders and corners of the folio, to huge crowded compositions taking up a whole page (FIG 42). The influence of the first of these styles is apparent in the small illustrations to the fables in the *Humāyūnnāma* (Add. 15153), an Ottoman Turkish version of the *Anvār-i Suhaylī*, a work in which many of the stories are concerned with animals⁽¹¹⁾. The manuscript, which is dated *circa* 1589, often has several miniatures illustrating the same story, in the style reminiscent of the small paintings with their high horizons and numerous characters, human or animal, which occur in Shiraz manuscripts dating from *circa* 1560–70. An example of the latter in the British Library is a copy of the *Kulliyât* (collected works) of Sa'dī (Add. 24944) which was completed in 1566 and has over seventy small paintings tucked away in the borders and corners of the folios, and a double frontispiece of Solomon and Bilqis (PLATE 14). Although lacking both the delicacy and the colour range of the Shiraz paintings, the illustrations in the Ottoman *Humāyūnnāma* are lively and often witty. The miniature of the jackal Dimna being brought for trial before the lion and the assembled animals is a case in point⁽¹²⁾. The reluctant jackal, his arms bound, is being urged forward by his captors, a bear and a monkey, while the rest of the animals watch with the keenest interest. The artist had great difficulty in drawing elephants throughout this manuscript, probably never having seen one. He not only gave them paws, but, in the earlier miniatures, supplied them with rows of teeth. He appears to have realised his mistake, but, as he was unaware of the fact that elephants only possess two functional teeth at a time, in later miniatures his elephants are toothless.

Another, and somewhat later, Shiraz style can be discerned in miniatures peculiar

to certain manuscripts concerned with the history of the Prophet Muḥammad and his family, and with the martyrdom of Ḥusayn at Karbala. These manuscripts all date from the late 16th century and contain full-page miniatures with figures in which the Shiraz convention of large heads and prominent bearded chins constantly occurs. In one of the manuscripts (Or. 7238) illustrated in this style in the British Library, a copy of *Maqāl-i Āl-i Rasūl*, a *maḡnavī* poem on the martyrdom of Ḥusayn, there are very fine border paintings in gold. These either surround an illustration or the text of the folio opposite, and they are miniatures in themselves. Although unmistakably Ottoman in character, they are far removed in choice of subjects from the caricatures and grotesques in the late 16th century *Khusraw u Shīrīn* (*Hüsrev ve Şirin*) (Or. 2708). Nor are they extensions of the main illustrations, as border paintings sometimes are in Mughal manuscripts, but subjects such as baboons in a tree being threatened by dogs (folio 26b) or a man ploughing with oxen (folio 40b), introduced at the whim of the artist.

The other two manuscripts in this group (Or. 7301 and Or. 12009) are both late 16th-century copies of the *Hadīqat al-su'adā* by Fuzūlī. The author based his work (a history of the martyrs of the Prophet's family) on a Persian original by Ḥusayn Vā'iz. The first part is concerned with the trials of some of the prophets, including Abraham (Ibrāhīm) who was thrown into a fire by order of Nimrod. According to the legend, Nimrod built a fire of such ferocity that birds flying in the sky above it were burned. Satan (Iblis) designed the catapult used to hurl Abraham into the fire but God created an oasis with trees, flowering plants and a stream in the centre of the blaze and Abraham was unharmed. This legend is illustrated in both manuscripts; in one (Or. 7301, folio 15b) he is seated on the catapult above the flames, in the other (Or. 12009, folio 15b) (PLATE 25) he is in the oasis among flowering plants, near a spring of water which is encircled by flames. The paintings in this group of manuscripts demonstrate the limited range of colours, with particular emphasis on scarlet and crimson, used by Ottoman artists working in this style, in which there is a total absence of the orange, salmon-pink, and purple which are such a feature of the true Ottoman palette.

There are two illustrated copies of the *Dīcān* of Bāqī (Bāki) in the British Library, but, although both are written in Ottoman Turkish, the style of the miniatures is different in each. One, Add. 7922, copied for Shah Safī I of Iran, has miniatures in the Persian Isfahan style (PLATE 18), while the other (Or. 7084) bears the name of an Ottoman scribe, Shaykh Umar Darquzaynī, who was working *circa* 1570. The poet Bāqī enjoyed the patronage of four successive Ottoman Sultans, namely Sulaymān I (d. 1566), Salīm II (d. 1574), Murād III (d. 1595) and Mehmed III (d. 1603). While miniatures within the text, in which Bāqī is depicted as paying homage or presenting his poems to one or another of his patrons, are typical Ottoman court scenes, two others, of Khusraw (Hüsrev) watching Shīrīn (Şirin) bathing (folio 67b) and of Bāqī with his pupils (folio 12) (PLATE 26), show a markedly Persian influence. It is possible that this is another example of a manuscript in which Ottoman and Persian artists shared the work, for, whilst the background with its red railings, flowering trees, gold sky, flying birds and a pavilion with a view into the garden, are typical of Persian

work, the costume and faces are purely Ottoman. This particular artist had a penchant for drawing faces full of misery, for the same sad expressions are seen again on people enjoying themselves at a country picnic (folio 102a)⁽¹³⁾.

The limited range of hard colours, which include the distinctive pale green, salmon-pink, orange and deep mauve so typical of Ottoman painting, predominate in miniatures illustrating a collection of anecdotes, folktales, legends and stories. This unusual manuscript (Harleian 5500) includes stories connected with Byzantium, Greece and Shamanism as well as tales of healing springs, of trees with magical properties and of strange birds, beasts and reptiles. The subjects of the tales – nine are concerned with pre-Ottoman Constantinople – suggest this may well be a Turkish collection of tales and not, as has been thought previously, a translation of a lost Persian work. Unfortunately, folios are missing at the beginning and end of the manuscript, and there is no clue as to author, title, scribe or provenance, although it would appear, from the style of the miniatures, that it dates from *circa* 1595. The ninety illustrations, each of which takes up about half the page, although simple in style, are, nevertheless, accurate portrayals of the tales related in the text. They include animals which assist each other, such as a small bird picking a crocodile's teeth (folio 17b) or a pelican providing water in a drought (folio 5b)⁽¹⁴⁾. There are fish that fear thunderstorms (folio 20a) or wreck ships (folio 20b), trees which are the objects of festivals (folio 40b and 98b), descriptions of the processions of Byzantine kings (folios 27a, 28a and 29a), of the Serpent Column (30a) and other monuments, and of the healing properties of certain springs and plants⁽¹⁵⁾, and many strange tales of talismans, ghouls, phantoms, animals, birds and people, of which the latter includes a man with glittering eyes who thrives on a diet of lizards and scorpions (folio 112b).

Yet another distinctive Ottoman style developed for illustrating epics and long narrative poems and prose romances. Copies of the *Shāhnāma*, either in the original Persian or in Turkish translation, are sometimes illustrated in this epic style. It is represented by a manuscript in the British Library (Or. 7204), a translation into Ottoman Turkish by Sharif (Şerif), of Firdawsī's work⁽¹⁶⁾ and by the *Qışa-yi Farrukhrūz* (*Kisse-i Ferruhrūz*) (Or. 3298) (PLATE 27). The latter, a romantic poem, is a Turkish version of part of the Persian *Samaq-i 'ayyār* of Farāmāz ibn Khudādād. The British Library manuscript, the second volume of a long work, is concerned with the adventures of the hero Farrukhrūz (Ferruhrūz) and his companions during their efforts to rescue the abducted princess, Gulbūy⁽¹⁷⁾. They all get into every kind of difficulty, for not only are they involved in battles, shipwrecks, interrogation under torture, fire and murder, but there are constant defections from one side to the other, to say nothing of complications caused by male and female spies and the liberal use of magic. Ships, as always in Ottoman miniatures, are beautifully drawn (PLATE 27) but figures are stilted, compositions simple and the colour range very limited with orange, salmon-pink, pale green and deep mauve much in evidence. The work of the artist of this manuscript is very similar to that in the *Qışa-yi Shahr-i Shayrān* (*Kisse-i Şeyran*), (T. 9303) in Istanbul University Library, which is by the same author and which Stchoukine dates *circa* 1640⁽¹⁸⁾. However, another manuscript with illustrations in this

style, *Farrukh u Humā* (*Ferruh ve Hümd*), also in Istanbul University Library (T. 1975), is dated 1010/1601⁽¹⁹⁾. These, together with a *Shāhnāma* in the Topkapı Sarayı (Hazine 1522) and the two British Library manuscripts, are all in a similar style which appears to descend from the sophisticated illustrations in the *Siyār-i Nabī* of 1003/1594-5 in the Topkapı Sarayı (Hazine 1221-3)⁽²⁰⁾⁽²¹⁾. The similarity of the 'epic' style of the miniatures in the five manuscripts must place them all very close to the date 1010/1601 given in T. 1975. One of the unusual features in that manuscript and in the British Library's *Shāhnāma* (*Şehname*) (Or. 7204), is the addition of a leopard or lion tail fastened to the spikes of the heroes' helmets, which are already decorated with the traditional leopard head. The same facial characteristics, designs and decorations on thrones, the same high crowns and helmets, the same air of remoteness about the characters, regardless of the action they are watching or are involved in, however disturbing, occur in all the paintings. A form of torture, in which the victim is trussed like a chicken and raised by means of ropes and pulleys, occurs in two miniatures in Or. 3298 but although the victims are suspended in the air, the hook on which they were traditionally dropped and which is described by Peter Mundy, writing *circa* 1618, is not included in the illustrations (folio 44a and 56b).

Outside the main collections in Turkey, signed miniatures are rare. There is only one manuscript in the British Library in which the artist's name is given, a copy dated 1021/1613 of the *Sharaf al-insān* (*Şeref ül-insān*) by Lami'i (Add. 7843). This is an adaptation of one of the Arabic philosophical treatises of the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafa*, on the nobility of man and his superiority over animals. All twenty-six paintings which illustrate the 1613 Ottoman manuscript are by the same artist, Ustād Muḥammad 'Alī, known as Ahtārī Shamākhī, whose name appears below the miniature on folio 30b. The illustrations, which show Ahtārī to have been a talented animal artist, are tinted drawings mainly of animals, birds, reptiles and insects against an uncoloured landscape. The creatures are concerned with the grievances borne by animals, birds, reptiles, insects and fish against their treatment at the hand of mankind. All decided to set out for the court of King Solomon in order to lay their complaints before him, and they elected representatives to be sent, in the first instance, to the King of the Jinns, Malik Dādbakhsh and his vizier. In turn, this king elected his own ambassadors to send to each 'tribe' of creatures (FIG 54) in the guise of an animal or insect similar to those in the tribe it was visiting, a fish to represent aquatic creatures, a dragon for the reptiles, and so on. The fact that creatures rarely seen in Persian or Turkish miniatures, such as the pheasant⁽²²⁾, jay and beaver occur, accurately drawn, in these unique paintings, suggests that the influence of European work is hovering somewhere in the background. This is one of the hundred and ten Ottoman manuscripts which were in the collection of Claudius James Rich, which were purchased for the British Museum in 1825, and were probably originally acquired by Rich when he was in Turkey *circa* 1805. There appears to be no record of the work of this artist in other collections of Ottoman illustrated manuscripts.

Firm evidence that manuscripts were produced for patrons of lower rank than the Sultan himself is provided by an inscription in a copy of the abridged Ottoman



FIG 54 The complaint of the bee against mankind. By Ahtarî Shamâkhi
Şarâf al-insân by Lami'î. Ottoman Turkish, 1613. Add. 7843 (47b)

version of the *'Ajd'ib al-Makhlûqât* (Wonders of Creation). This encyclopaedic work, which was originally written in Arabic by al-Qazwîni, was translated in its entirety into Persian and there are heavily-illustrated manuscripts in most collections. After Prince Muştafâ, son of Sulaymân I, had been given an Arabic copy by a rich merchant of Mecca, he ordered his tutor Surûrî to translate the work into Ottoman Turkish. When the prince, condemned for treason by his father, was strangled in his tent while on campaign in 1553, Surûrî abandoned his task of translation. In the illustrated copy (Add. 7894) of this Turkish version, it is stated that the manuscript was produced for Ahmad Ağâ, a *kaptı başı*, a high-ranking official responsible for the guards and gatekeepers and general security of the Sultan's Palace. Possibly Ahmad Ağâ had access to the royal library or was shown an illustrated manuscript and, liking it, decided to commission one for himself, but, in whatever way it came about, his manuscript is a copy of a very fine original in the Topkapı Sarayı Library (A. 3632). The manuscript produced for Ahmad Ağâ, which contains over one hundred and fifty miniatures and diagrams, is a fine copy in its own right, but just lacks the finish of the Istanbul original. Both have unusual subjects for illustration such as a diver collecting oysters for mother-of-pearl (folio 136a) and tortoises being kept in flocks like sheep (folio 160a)⁽²³⁾. There are groups of angels, a speciality of Ottoman artists, standing, bowing, kneeling and prostrating (folio 59b–60b)⁽²⁴⁾ and a variety of dragons, each one different from the other⁽²⁵⁾. A particularly splendid specimen representing *Draco* is painted in gold with red lightning crackling round its body. The Ottoman artists

working on the miniatures would be aware of Persian illustrated copies of the *'Ajā' ib al-Makhlūqāt* (*Acaib ul-Mahlukat*) for there are several manuscripts in the Palace Library, but in this version they have interpreted and illustrated the subjects in a far more original manner than the usual stereotyped Persian illustrations.

Although there is no inscription stating the fact, an interesting historical work in the British Library (Add. 22011), a copy of the *Nusratnāma*, was probably the original version made for the leader of a campaign which led to the Ottoman conquest of Georgia in 1578. The author of this chronicle, Gelibolulu (i.e. of Gallipoli), Muṣṭafā 'Al-ī, accompanied the leader of the campaign, Lala Muṣṭafā Pasha, as his secretary. The British Library manuscript is dated 1582, four years after the conquest. It may well have been Lala Muṣṭafā Pasha's own manuscript as a royal, and far more sumptuous, copy in the Topkapı Sarayı (Hazine 1365), which is dated two years later, i.e. 1584, was probably commissioned by Murād III for inclusion in the Palace Library. Although at this time manuscripts of poems and tales still demonstrated to a greater or lesser degree the influence of Persian styles of painting, the uniquely Ottoman preference for chronicles and histories, illustrated in a factual and realistic manner, was firmly established. The *Nusratnāma* is a typical example of the genre, in which accuracy in the drawing of soldiers, tents, weapons, costumes, cities and fortresses is enhanced by the addition of the names of individuals, places and buildings within the miniatures. From as early as the reign of Sulaymān I and continuing into the 18th century, the Sultan of the day commissioned works relating the history of his predecessor as well as current events of his own reign, including campaigns, celebrations and the affairs of the Palace. These royal manuscripts, still on the shelves of the Palace Library today, are quite remarkable and nothing comparable exists in collections outside Istanbul. These factual works describe the lives and happenings of the reigns of succeeding Sultans, the campaigns they instigated to gain their empire, their recreational pursuits, the organisation of the Palace, the festivals held on special occasions, and the entertaining of foreign ambassadors, all such activities being copiously illustrated. Fortunately manuscripts such as that of the *Nusratnāma*, which were produced for lesser mortals than the Sultan himself, still convey the unique qualities of this kind of historical work. The *Nusratnāma* records the successful Ottoman campaign which, following the Battle of Çıldır in 1578, resulted in the capture from the Safavids of Tbilisi (Tiflis) in Georgia and Kars now in northeast Turkey. The miniatures in the British Library manuscript, workmanlike and accurate if somewhat static, are redeemed by certain unusual touches. In one miniature (folio 199a) (PLATE 28) Lala Muṣṭafā Pasha is shown, seated on a stool under a canopy, in his encampment after defeating the Iranians. This Ottoman victory is signified by the Safavid cap which is held on the end of a spear, from which human ears are suspended on a cord. The standards of three horse tails (tuğ) denote Lala Muṣṭafā's rank. His secretary, the author of the book, kneels before him and the cavalry, including two of the corps of *delis*, are drawn up nearby while the tents forming his encampment are ranged in rows at the back and in the foreground. The *deli* soldiers were equivalent to modern commando troops, travelling ahead of the main body of the army to strike terror in the neighbourhood, not least by their

costume which included caps decorated with eagles' wings and skin capes which were worn over their shoulders. The folio opposite that of the encampment shows the ramparts of the city of Kars being repaired (198b). The names of the leading overseers are written near them, as are those of buildings and landmarks in the double-page painting of the occupation of Tbilisi (81b–82a)⁽²⁶⁾. That Lâla Muştafa was a splendid leader is indicated by one miniature (103b) which shows him on horseback in the middle of a swollen river urging on his soldiers. The Istanbul 1584 copy of this work (Hazine 1365) is illustrated in the more ornate flowing style of the Palace artists⁽²⁷⁾ in which the paintings, full of colourful tents and costumes, are in contrast to the somewhat rigid compositions in the British Library manuscript, and, as with the two manuscripts of the *'Ajâ'ib al-Makhlûqât* mentioned above, the royal manuscript is the de luxe version.

Another manuscript in this genre in the British Library is the *Pashanâme* (Sloane 3584) by Tulû'î İbrâhîm, written for Murâd IV (d. 1640) about 1630. By this time, histories and chronicles had, in general, given way to albums, and this manuscript of the *Pashanâme* is unusually late for such a work. It is an account of the exploits of Kenân Pasha between 1626 and 1629, when he restored order in Rumeli, after it had been overrun by Albanian rebels and bandits, and then went on to serve in the Crimea. The poem breaks off abruptly during an account of a naval battle which took place in the Black Sea in 1629. This skirmish is illustrated by a splendid painting (folio 78b)⁽²⁸⁾. Three Turkish galleys (*kayık*) are shown in action against Kazak (Cossack) boats (*seyha*). In this context the term Cossack includes Russians and Ukrainians, as well as Cossacks themselves.

From early in the 16th century, Ottoman Turkish artists combined miniature painting with cartography. The greatest, and the earliest, exponent of this kind of book illustration was Matraqçı Naşûh who accompanied Sulaymân I on campaign to Iran in 1534–5. His manuscript (now in Istanbul University Library, T.5964) of the journey is illustrated with remarkable 'maps', in which buildings, bridges, rivers and ships are included, of the stopping-places and cities en route⁽²⁹⁾. This style of cartographic miniature was employed by other court artists in works on campaigns and even in an 18th-century copy of a collection of the poems of Atâ'î (d. 1634). A manuscript (Or. 13882) dated 1738–9, in the British Library, has a double-page painting (folios 68b–69a) (FIG 55) of the Bosphorus which includes the two castles, Rumeli Hisar and Anadolu Hisar, sited respectively on the European and Asian shores, in addition to the houses and gardens. Another version occurs in a similar manuscript in the Walters Art Gallery (W666) dated 1721⁽³⁰⁾.

In Turkey as in Iran and Mughal India, albums of paintings, portraits and specimens of fine calligraphy became very popular. They fall mainly into three categories. There were albums in which paintings were interspersed with pages of calligraphy and poetry, others of portraits and descriptions of the Sultans and, thirdly, those produced for foreign travellers depicting Ottoman costume, ranks and occupations. Some early 17th-century albums of small format contained paintings and pen and ink drawings in addition to poems and examples of calligraphy, very much in the same mode as those produced in Iran at the same time. An example of an



FIG 55 View of the Bosphorus
Khamsa of 'Atā'i. Each folio = 12 × 10 cm. Ottoman Turkish, 1738–9. Or. 13882 (68b–69a)

Ottoman album of this kind in the British Library (Or. 2709) includes Persianised romantic paintings in which gold is extensively used. There are also tinted drawings reminiscent of those of the Isfahan style at the time of Shah 'Abbās (d. 1629), as well as portraits of Aḥmad I and of 'Uṣmān II, as a young man, of women in Turkish costume and a pen and ink drawing of an angel with very long slender wings (23b). A good study of a *solak*, a rank of bowmen who were members of the Sultan's personal bodyguard (folio 27b), his costume distinguished by the gigantic plume (*süpürge sorguçlu*) which was one of the emblems of his rank, is also included.

A feature of this album is the connection with Georgia and Iran in the inscriptions on some of the paintings. The charming miniature (folio 10a) of a horse happily listening to music played by a youth (PLATE 29) has an inscription 'Georgian youth'.

OTTOMAN TURKEY



PLATE 28 Lālā Muṣṭafā Pasha in his encampment
Nuṣratnāma by 'Alī of Gallipoli, 26.4 × 17 cm. Ottoman Turkish, 1582.
 Add. 22011 (1998)

OTTOMAN TURKEY



PLATE 29 Boy and horse
Album, 7.8 × 10.7 cm. Ottoman Turkish, *circa* 1600. Or. 2709 (10a)

OTTOMAN TURKEY

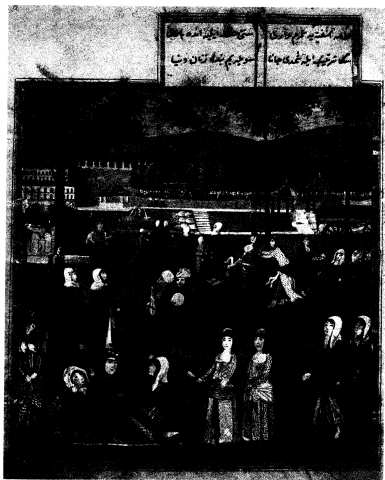


PLATE 30 Women taking their recreation in a park
Zanân-nâma by Fâzîl Andarûnî. 14 × 13 cm. Ottoman Turkish, late 18th century.
 Or. 7094 (79)

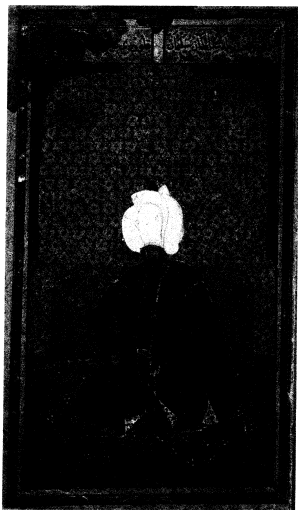


PLATE 31 Sulaymān I, Ottoman Sultan, reigned 1520–1566
From *Qiyāfat al-insāniyya fī shamā'il al-'Uṣmāniyya* by Luqmān. 14.5 × 8.5 cm.
Ottoman Turkish, 1588–9. Add. 7880 (53b)

FIG 56 Toy-seller
Album painting, 22.8 x 14.5 cm.
Ottoman Turkish, 18th century.
Bodleian Library, MS Douce Or. c. 1 (8b)



Other inscriptions on paintings include 'beautiful Georgian youth' (folio 9b), 'Georgian gardener' (folio 15b), 'Georgian squire (or page)' (24b). Other youths (folios 13b and 19b) are referred to as 'beauty of Tabriz' and 'Persian gardener'. The paintings were probably done by artists of Georgian origin who were working in Istanbul in the latter part of the 16th century. Two, Siyāvush and Mihrāb, are mentioned by Muṣṭafā 'Alī⁽³¹⁾. Another artist, Valī Jān, originally from Tabriz, had been appointed to the studios by Murād III (d. 1595) who appreciated Persian painting. Valī Jān had been a pupil of Siyāvush Beg who began his career⁽³²⁾ under Shah Tahmāsp's patronage at Tabriz when very young and who was still working in Iran at the turn of the 16th century. Valī Jān came from a family of book-craftsmen as, among his brothers, Ḥusayn Beg was an illuminator and Qāsim 'Alī a bookbinder. The inscriptions and the style of the paintings in the album (Or. 2709) imply the involvement of an artist with Georgian and Tabriz connections.

In stark contrast to the exquisite and delicate paintings in the album with Persian connotations, are examples of the work of the Turkish 'Bazaar painter'. The 'toyseller' (FIG 56) (Bodleian MS. Douce Or. c. 1, folio 8b), typical of the rough work palmed off on foreign travellers in the 17th century, is one of eleven paintings of

costumes of various categories of servants and others. There are two similar albums, of slightly better quality, in the British Museum, containing drawings of ministers, court officials, servants and officials of the palace, dervishes and men and women of other nationalities. One of these albums (1974-6-17-013) was produced for the traveller Peter Mundy in 1618. In his account of his travels⁽³³⁾, Mundy writes (Vol. I, p. 26): 'For the several habitts used att Constantinople, where most officers and Nations are distinguished by their habits, I have a little booke, only of that particular, painted by the Turks themselves in Anno 1618, although no great art there in, yet enough to satisfie concerning that Matter'. A footnote states that 'it is a matter of regret that this "little booke" was not preserved with the author's MS'. In fact, while the manuscript of Mundy's diary went to the Bodleian Library (Rawl. Ms. A 315), the 'little booke' in question entered the collections of the Department of Manuscripts at the British Museum under the number Add. 23880. It was transferred, first to the Department of Oriental Manuscripts in 1867 and then, at the setting up of the British Library in 1973, to the Department of Oriental Antiquities in the British Museum where it was given a new number (1974-6-17-013). Peter Mundy was born *circa* 1594 and his diary ends abruptly in 1667. Very little is known about him, other than his own account of his travels, although he merits a brief mention in Aubrey's *Lives*. He was in Istanbul between 1617 and 1620 and illustrates his diary with sketches, including forms of entertainment and punishment. Amongst the latter (page 54) he describes the method of hoisting up prisoners, their hands and feet bound behind their backs, by means of ropes and pulleys and letting them drop on to sharp hooks fastened on a beam. Two miniatures in the romantic tale, *Qışsa-yi Farrukhrûs*, in the British Library (Or. 3298, folios 44a and 56b) illustrate men being tortured by a similar method in order to extract information from them.

A feature which distinguishes Peter Mundy's album from the general run of these 'tourist' volumes is the excellent 'cut-out' (*decoupé*) work. In *decoupé*, an Ottoman speciality, all kinds of designs were cut from white, coloured or marbled paper including calligraphy, plants, flowers, vases, pavilions, animals and, occasionally, a complete landscape. Nearly every page in the Mundy album has decorations of cypress trees, lilac, tulips or roses cut out of coloured paper and pasted on to the borders.

A later set of costume paintings in two albums, also in the British Musum (1974-6-17-012(1) and (2))⁽³⁴⁾, was a gift from the Sultan 'Abd al-Hamid (Abdülhamid) I (d. 1789) to General Diez, Prussian ambassador at Istanbul. These paintings are of the high quality to be expected in such a gift. In all there are two hundred and twenty-five paintings of the costumes, equipment and emblems of the Sultan and of the ministers, officials and servants, from the Grand Vizier to the lowliest cook, including eunuchs, women officials and servants of the Harem. There are also paintings of Greek and Albanian men and women, street traders and representatives of the various dervish orders. These excellent paintings are an invaluable source of information on matters of the Ottoman Palace organisation and of costume, jewellery and regalia. The two albums appear to be the masters from which slightly inferior copies were made. There is one such album in the Bodleian Library (MS Douce

Or. 2) and another was sold at Sotheby's Oriental Sale on 13 October 1981 in London (Lot 183).

Other 18th-century works might also rank as costume albums, although they illustrate poems by Fâzil Andarûnî (d. 1810). There were two works, the *Khubânnâme* (Book of Beauties), concerned with boys of various nationalities, which he completed in 1793, and the companion volume, the *Zanânnâme* (Book of Women). Both are concerned with the merits and defects of male and female representatives of various countries, Asian and European, accompanied by an illustration of each, in appropriate costume, against a suitable landscape. That some are fanciful is to be expected, the representative of America ('The New World') in each volume being dressed in skins. Fâzil Andarûnî (as his name implies) was brought up in the Palace and no doubt had opportunities for observing foreign visitors, even if Americans were not among them. In the British Library's copy of the *Zanânnâme* (Or. 7094) there are additional paintings of women in a park (folio 7a) (PLATE 30) and at a *hammam* (folio 49a), of a scene outside a brothel at night (folio 51a) and of a woman giving birth (folio 46b).

Portraiture, which was taught by Bellini and other Italians in the 15th century, was continued by Turkish artists. Salīm II (d. 1574) appointed Luqmân as his court historian in 1569 and during Salīm's reign volumes of Ottoman history written by him were copied and illustrated in the Palace studios. He also wrote descriptions of Ottoman Sultans from 'Uṣmân I (d. 1324) to Murâd III (d. 1595) in a volume entitled *Qiyâfât al-insâniyya fî shamâ'il al-'Uṣmâniyya*. Two copies of his work, with original paintings of the Sultans by the Ottoman specialist portrait painter 'Uṣmân, who was also head of the Palace studios, are still in the libraries of the Topkapı Sarayı (H 1653) and Istanbul University (T. 6087). The album in the British Library is dated 1588-9 and, like other manuscripts in the collection, may have been a copy of the royal manuscript made for an official. The first twelve portraits, that is from 'Uṣmân I (d. 1324) to Murâd III (d. 1595), are contemporary with the text, the remainder of the text and the rest of the portraits, ending with Aḥmad III (d. 1730), having been added later. The portrait (folio 53b) of Sulaymân I (d. 1566) (PLATE 31), one of the best in the manuscript, is a good copy of the original by 'Uṣmân. In his description of the Sultan, Luqmân states that he was the first to wear the tall turban known as the *Sûleymaniye kavuğu*. In the introduction to the collection of portraits, Luqmân refers to himself as the panegyrist of the Ottoman court and the relater of royal chronicles. He explains how he assembled, with the help of the 'matchless painter Ustâd (or Master) 'Uṣmân, and by favour of the Grand Vizier, the royal portraits, some of them being by European masters'. Luqmân's text was designed as an accompaniment to the portraits which were made as accurate as possible by comparing European and Ottoman paintings and by using descriptions of the Sultans' features when they were described in contemporary historical works.

The production of Ottoman Turkish illustrated manuscripts, apart from albums produced for foreigners, virtually ceased after the 18th century, for there was no resurgence of royal patronage as there was in Iran under the Qājārs in the first half of the 19th century. The British Library has an album (Or. 9505) of *circa* 1850 which was no doubt inspired by Luqmân's 17th-century work. The portraits of the Sultans from

'Uṣmān I (d. 1324) to 'Abd al-Majid (Abdūlmecid) I (d. 1861)⁽³⁵⁾ which accompany biographical notes on each, demonstrate heavy European influence and the sad decline of Ottoman art.

- (1) N.M. Titley, *Miniatures from Turkish Manuscripts*, 1981.
- (2) Miniatures from both manuscripts are illustrated in (1) *above* and in G.M. Meredith-Owens, *Turkish Miniatures*, 1969.
- (3) N. Atasoy and F. Çağman, *Turkish Miniature Painting*, Istanbul, 1974, PLATE 1.
- (4) Mustafa ibn Ahmed Ali, *Mendâib-i hünerverân*, Istanbul, 1926.
- (5) B. Gray (ed.), *The Arts of the Book in Central Asia, 14th-16th centuries*, 1979, PLATES LXIII and LXIV.
- (6) B.W. Robinson, 'The Durham Gulistan, an unpublished Timurid manuscript,' *Oriental Art*, Spring 1976, Vol. XXII (1), pp. 52-59.
- (7) N.M. Titley, *op. cit.*, PLATE 43.
- (8) N.M. Titley, 'Istanbul or Tabriz? The question of provenance of three 16th century Nev'î manuscripts in the British Library,' *Oriental Art*, NS Vol. XXIV(3), 1978, pp. 29-6.
- (9) F. Çağman, 'The miniatures of the *Dîvân-i Hüseyinî* and the influence of their style,' *Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art*, Budapest, 1975, edited G. Fehér, Budapest, 1978.
- (10) N.M. Titley, *Sports and Pastimes: Scenes from Turkish, Persian & Mughal Paintings*, 1979, PLATE 2.
- (11) G.M. Meredith-Owens, *Turkish Miniatures*, PLATES V, VI, XVIII, XIX and XX.
- (12) *ibid.* PLATE XIX.
- (13) N.M. Titley, *Miniatures from Turkish Manuscripts*, PLATE 16.
- (14) G.M. Meredith-Owens, *op. cit.*, PLATE 1.
- (15) N.M. Titley, *op. cit.*, PLATES 10-13.
- (16) G.M. Meredith-Owens, *op. cit.*, PLATE XV.
- (17) N.M. Titley, *op. cit.*, PLATES 22-25.
- (18) I. Sezhoukine, *La peinture Turque*, Paris, 1966 & 1971, Vol. II, PLATES XXXIV and XXXV.
- (19) *ibid.* Vol. 1, PLATES CII and CIII.
- (20) *ibid.* Vol. 1, PLATES LXXX-LXXXV.
- (21) N. Atasoy and F. Çağman, *op. cit.*, PLATES 31-33.
- (22) N.M. Titley, *op. cit.*, PLATE 33.
- (23) N.M. Titley, *op. cit.*, PLATES 49 and 50.
- (24) G.M. Meredith-Owens, *op. cit.*, PLATE III.
- (25) N.M. Titley, *Dragons in Persian, Mughal and Turkish Art*, 1981, FIGS 1, 8 & 13.
- (26) G.M. Meredith-Owens, *op. cit.*, PLATES XVI and XVII.
- (27) N. Atasoy and F. Çağman, *op. cit.*, PLATE 28.
- (28) G.M. Meredith-Owens, *op. cit.*, PLATE XXV.
- (29) N. Atasoy and F. Çağman, *op. cit.*, PLATE 6.
- (30) Günsel Renda, 'An illustrated Ottoman Hamse in the Walters Art Gallery,' *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, Vol. 39, 1981, pp. 15-32.
- (31) Mustafa ibn Ahmed Ali, *Mendâib-i hünerverân*, Istanbul, 1926.
- (32) A. Welch, *Artists for the Shah*, 1976.
- (33) *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667*, edited by R.C. Temple, 3 Vols, Hakluyt Society, Cambridge, 1907-36.
- (34) N.M. Titley, *Miniatures from Turkish Manuscripts*, PLATE 3.
- (35) *ibid.* PLATE 45.

The Sultanate period of India and the influence of Persian art, fifteenth to mid-sixteenth century

In India, whether working under the patronage of the Muslim rulers of the Sultanate period or for the Mughal emperors, the indigenous artists and craftsmen absorbed the traditions and ways of the foreign invaders and turned them to their own purposes, whilst maintaining their national characteristics. On the other hand, in Iran, it was the foreign invaders who adapted to the traditions of the country in which they settled and who became the patrons of book production. Thus the Indian artists, whether taught by Persian artists or whether using imported Persian or Arabic illustrated manuscripts as models, incorporated details familiar to them, whether of costume, architecture or facial characteristics. In landscape painting, they rejected the high horizon and employed a far more naturalistic landscape than that of the romanticised Persian miniature. Trees, plants, flowers and animals which they saw in their daily lives were introduced into their paintings, including the banyan and plantain, mango and pipal, and animals and birds of the jungle and countryside such as the blackbuck, civet, palm squirrel, nilgai, grackle, mynah and ibis, all beautifully painted and instantly identifiable. However, it is undeniable that Persian manuscripts had a profound influence on the art of the book in India, not only on painting as such, and on calligraphy, but on the format of the book and the use of paintings to illustrate the narrative.

The invasions of the late 12th century led to five hundred years of Muslim rule in India and the early introduction by the new rulers of the system of the patronage of calligraphers, artists and others necessary for the production of fine manuscripts. No Sultanate manuscripts appear to have survived before the 15th century, possibly because of the devastation and destruction caused by Tīmūr's invasion of India which culminated in the sack of Delhi in 1398. However, it is possible to trace the influence of Arab and Persian painting and the use of blue and gold in illumination through certain Jain manuscripts which are considerably earlier than any surviving Muslim Sultanate works. There had long been a tradition of lay patronage of manuscript production in monasteries in which the books remained, having been copied and painted for wealthy patrons who hoped thus to gain merit. The earliest Jain palm-leaf manuscripts with coloured paintings, as opposed to the earlier diagrams and drawings, date to the 12th century. By the late 13th century paper began to be used and eventually superseded palm-leaves, although the format remained the same, that of loose leaves kept together between boards. It is not until the late 14th century that paintings in Jain manuscripts begin to illustrate the narrative, and this feature, together with certain Arab and Persian characteristics, demonstrates the growing

familiarity of Jain painters with imported illustrated Islamic manuscripts, as well as ceramics and metalwork which were increasingly introduced into India, particularly in Gujarat in the west of the country, where trade relations with Iran, Iraq and Egypt were strong. Previously Jain manuscripts bore coloured paintings which included deities, divinities and events in the life of the Buddha which were not related to the text but were intended to bring merit to the lay patron and protection to the manuscript itself.

By the late 14th century, besides the introduction of narrative illustrations, other Persian and Arab elements, such as the use of blue and gold and of certain scroll designs, are found in Jain manuscripts. At this time, in spite of the fact that Gujarat was under Muslim rule, a great many Jain manuscripts were still being produced, as the Jain tradition of patronage was as strong as that of the Muslim. In one work in particular, the *Kālakāchārya Kathā*, the Persian king, the Sāhī (a corruption of the word Shāh) is an Islamic figure. The story concerns the adventures of a Jain monk called Kālakā who at one point calls upon the Saka king, the Sāhī, for help in rescuing his abducted sister. The Saka king was traditionally the ruler of Sakastana, an area that is now modern Sistān, the eastern-most province of Iran. The Sakas invaded western India about the beginning of the Christian era and their king was traditionally depicted as a Persian. A manuscript in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, consisting of the *Kalpāsūtra* and the *Kālakāchārya Kathā* includes a miniature, of Kālakā and the Saka king sitting opposite each other, which is a study in contrasts (FIG 57). Kālakā, the figure on the left, is not only wearing typical Indian costume but his features include the farther protruding eye, a detail of Indian painting never seen in Persian or Arab miniatures. The king, on the other hand, with his broad face in which the eyes slide into the corners, his pointed beard, high boots and large-patterned robe is typical of earlier Islamic painting. He is seated on a high-backed throne which is supported by gold lions and has four spears rising behind it. This kingly figure, which combines pre-Islamic Iranian Sasanian features with early 13th-century Mesopotamian (Iraq) painting, could have reached India by way of an imported manuscript. It is possible that Jain artists might have seen manuscripts in which miniatures of similar kings served as frontispieces, such as those in a famous dispersed Arabic anthology which had no less than six. Dated between 1217 and 1219 and probably produced at Mosul (Iraq), one of the frontispieces in this anthology of poems, the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* by Abū'l-Faraj al-Isfahānī, is now in the collections of the Royal Library in Copenhagen (Cod. Arab CLXVIII, folio 1a) (FIG 58). All six consist of paintings of a king following his pursuits, whether at court or hunting. This royal figure, who is both larger in size and situated on a higher plane than his subjects, provides a link with Sasanian Iran. The paintings are rich in blue and gold while textiles have the bold pattern which occurs on the robe of the Jain Saka king. These 13th-century frontispiece paintings not only form an interesting link with India but also with Persian painting, for similar compositions of a king surrounded by his soldiers and courtiers, some holding falcons and cheetahs, are still to be seen a century later in Persian manuscripts such as the 1307 *Katīla va Dimna* in the British Library (Or. 13506).

THE SULTANATE PERIOD OF INDIA



FIG 57 Kālākā and the Saka king
Kālpasūtra and *Kālākāchārya kathā*. 8.5 × 7.8 cm.
Western India, early 15th century.
Prince of Wales Museum of Western India,
55–65 (folio 86)



FIG 58 A king hawking
Kitāb al-Aghānī by Abū'l-Faraj al-Isfahānī.
28.6 × 21.5 cm. Mesopotamian, Mosul,
1219. Royal Library, Copenhagen, Cod.
Arab CLXVIII (12)

Although the Islamic invaders who entered India late in the 12th century swept over the north of the country in the 13th century and down into the Deccan in the 14th, there is no firm evidence of Muslim patronage of book production until we come to a group of manuscripts, indisputedly of Mandu provenance, dating from the late 15th and early 16th centuries. It would be surprising if Islamic rulers were not patrons earlier than this, as they were in other occupied territories, for the Islamic tradition of patronage was virtually indestructible as evidenced in Iran itself, where it not only survived the Mongol devastation of the 13th century, but emerged even stronger, under the descendants of the Mongols, in the 14th. The strength of the tradition of supporting artists and academies in order to produce fine manuscripts was such that it is virtually certain that patronage of this kind was included in the way of life of the Islamic Sultanate rulers of India in the earlier part of the 15th century.

In Iran itself in the second half of the 14th century, the province of Fars was ruled by the Muzaffarid dynasty who maintained the tradition of patronage at their capital, Shiraz. This so-called Muzaffarid style (FIG 16) continued to be the main influence on south provincial Persian painting right through the first half of the 15th century and also on miniatures in manuscripts which probably originated in India. It is extremely difficult to distinguish between manuscripts illustrated in the south provincial Persian style and those, with similar paintings, which may have been produced in India, both having been modelled on Muzaffarid originals. This is particularly so in the case of a group of early-15th-century manuscripts which were produced at a time when there is no known surviving and undisputed evidence of patronage by the Muslim Sultanate rulers. These manuscripts have long been a subject of contention, so much so that the question of their provenance was bravely taken as the subject for a Ph.D. thesis recently⁽¹⁾. Sometimes the provenance of manuscripts can be deduced from details in the miniatures, whether of certain animals or of costume and ornament, of textile and carpet designs, of weapons or musical instruments, of architecture or flowers or trees or the use of certain pigments but this can be misleading. For instance, an Indian mahout complete with ankus (FIG 30) and seated on an elephant, who appears in two miniatures in a British Library *Shāhnāma* (Or. 12688) dated 1446, would almost certainly have been attributed to India had it not been for an inscription giving the name of the patron and the area, Mazandaran, in north Iran. Three of the controversial manuscripts are dated within a year of each other. One, a *Shāhnāma*, in the British Library (Or. 1403) (FIG 59) is dated 1438, and the other two are manuscripts of the *Khamṣa* of Nizāmī, one in Uppsala University Library (O.Vet 82), which is dated 1439, and the other, dated 1440, in the Topkapı Sarayı (Hazine 774). Unfortunately none gives the place of copying but, of the three, the *Shāhnāma* is perhaps the most likely to be of Indian provenance. The miniatures in each manuscript are strongly influenced by the Muzaffarid style of Shiraz, *circa* 1370–90, the Uppsala Nizāmī particularly so. The high rounded hills (streaked with gold in the originals), the delicately drawn trees, the people, with squint eyes in their oval faces, who wear loose turbans, and the elegant slender-legged horses, are copied direct from a Muzaffarid manuscript similar to the 1371 *Shāhnāma* in the Topkapı Sarayı (Hazine 1511), (FIG 16).

The second manuscript of the *Khamsa* of Nizāmi in this group, which is dated 1440 and is in the Topkapı Sarayı (Hazine 774), appears to be one of those manuscripts produced commercially. Shiraz had a long tradition of churning out manuscripts, usually copied from good originals, of which some found their way to India. This 1440 *Khamsa* of Nizāmi has miniatures, including some rare subjects, which are direct copies of illustrations in the 1439 Uppsala manuscript, for example the story of the fruit seller and the fox, the accident which befell a young boy at play, Khusraw visiting Shirin, Farhād visiting Shirin, and Khusraw and Shirin in their respective tents. One miniature, that of Bahrām Gūr attaining the crown, in the Uppsala MS (folio 201a) is more in the tradition of the later Shiraz style connected with Ibrāhīm Sultan of circa 1420, including the ribbon clouds. Some of the miniatures, in all three, have an unusual cloud convention consisting of straight white lines, from which a line protrudes alternately above and below, painted against a blue sky, a curiosity which appears to be unique to this group of manuscripts. As the artists of the Uppsala *Khamsa* and the British Library *Shāhnāma* almost certainly used Muzaffarid manuscripts as models, and as the Topkapı Sarayı *Khamsa* appears to be a version of the Uppsala manuscript, it is most likely that some late 14th-century Muzaffarid compositions included this peculiarity. Unfortunately, there is no trace of such clouds in the blue or gold sky of the Topkapı Sarayı 1371 *Shāhnāma* (Hazine 1511) (FIG 16). There are very few surviving Muzaffarid-style manuscripts available for comparison. Apart from the Istanbul *Shāhnāma*, there is one in Cairo dated 1393, another in Tashkent, which is lacking a colophon, and a few dispersed miniatures in other collections. Another factor which makes an Indian provenance unlikely is that, although there is no record of the Swedish owner of the Uppsala manuscript having been to India, he did travel to Iran where he probably acquired the manuscript which was presented, in 1729, to Uppsala University, after his death⁽²⁾. As to the Istanbul manuscript, there is hardly any Indian material in the Topkapı Sarayı collection of manuscripts and what there is consists of Mughal and Deccani work. While it is extremely unlikely that the collection would include a 15th-century Indian manuscript, it is particularly rich in Shiraz manuscripts of that period. Whereas both the Uppsala and the Istanbul manuscripts appear to originate in Shiraz, or, at least, in the province of Fars of which Shiraz is the capital, the British Library's 1438 *Shāhnāma* (Or. 1403) has several features which point to an Indian provenance, perhaps the most significant being a unique addition to the preface. Also, the text is written on poor brittle paper which has become brown in colour, in contrast to the good quality paper of the other two manuscripts. The British Library manuscript has also been attacked by worms, a calamity so often observed in manuscripts of Indian provenance, whereas the pages of the two *Khamsa* manuscripts in Uppsala and Istanbul are unblemished. The miniatures in the British Library *Shāhnāma* are both simpler and coarser while showing less of the Muzaffarid influence than those in the Uppsala and Istanbul manuscripts. This would not be surprising if the Indian artists had indeed been copying Persian originals as they tended to substitute Indian elements for Persian details. Some of the miniatures do include the strange rectangular clouds but this only strengthens the theory that they were part of the

repertoire of 14th-century Shiraz artists working in the Muzaffarid style because this manuscript almost certainly had such a model. The scribe, whose name is not known, copied an earlier manuscript so slavishly that he even included its details such as the date 779/1377, which at least puts it firmly in the Muzaffarid period of Shiraz.

Another significant feature of the 1438 *Shāhnāma* is the addition made to the preface at the beginning. The preface itself, also copied exactly from the 1377 manuscript, was the 'old' one and not the revised version written by Bāysunghur which became the standard preface in general use after 1430. The addition to the preface in Or. 1403 states, to quote Rieu⁽³⁾, that when Firdawsī was fleeing from the wrath of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī, he had taken refuge in India and that the King of Delhi, after keeping him for some time as an honoured guest, sent him home to Tus with rich presents. It is exceedingly unlikely that an Iranian would have written such an apocryphal story about the national poet of Iran, indeed it is so unlikely that it is virtually impossible. Whoever wrote that passage possibly enjoyed the patronage of the King of Delhi, otherwise why should such a sycophantic episode have been invented? The Sayyid ruler of Delhi at that time was Muḥammad Shāh who reigned from 1434 to 1445. This 1438 *Shāhnāma* may yet prove to be a product of the Delhi Sultanate although, as Jerry Losty points out⁽⁴⁾, 'Delhi . . . under the Sayyid and Lodi dynasties (1414–1526) remained a sad shadow of its former self and incapable of supporting much artistic endeavour, far less than the other courts'. The paintings are of the old-fashioned small format, taking up about one-third of a page, and the text is written in a somewhat rough *nasta'liq*. The simple compositions include figures which are often out of proportion to the buildings and which, in general, are simple and naive. One of the features of this manuscript is the positioning of people, whether soldiers, courtiers or congregations, in tight rows with their heads all on the same level. This peculiarity has been cited as one reason for giving them an Indian provenance, but the theory that this is solely a characteristic of certain Indian styles is not valid because exactly the same odd feature occurs in the Shiraz anthology of 1420 in Berlin⁽⁵⁾. There is no doubt about the Persian origin of the anthology which Ibrāhīm Sultan (d. 1435), governor of Shiraz, dedicated to his brother Bāysunghur (FIG 21) at a time when the latter was setting up his academy in Herat.

The oval faces, pointed beards and moustaches, and the squint eyes of the Persian Muzaffarid style are still in evidence in the *Shāhnāma*, and the peculiar eyes of Muzaffarid faces are also one of the characteristics of the Saka King in Jain manuscripts (FIG 57). Whereas the pupils of Kālākā's eyes, whether protruding or not, and those of other Indians, are always in the centre, the eyes of the Sāhi and his attendants have invariably rolled to the right or left so that the pupils disappear into the corners of the eyes. The artists of the simple miniatures in the *Shāhnāma* (Or. 1403) have used pale blue, yellow, deep crimson, pink and a pale green, all colours associated more with Indian painting than Persian. Other un-Persian details include two faces drawn in profile, that of Rustam in battle (folio 172a) and of the witch who is being killed by Isfandiyār (folio 277b), and certain plants (folio 368b) (FIG 59). Almost invariably in Persian miniatures the banks of streams are thickly covered with heavy-leaved plants, sometimes flowering and sometimes of green



FIG 59 The drunken cobbler riding a lion
Shāhnāma of Firdawsi. 12.5 × 17.2 cm. Sultanate India(?), 1437–8. Or. 1403 (368b)

vegetation. The artist of the miniature of the drunk cobbler riding a lion (folio 368b) in the *Shāhnāma* in question has included plants at the edge of water (FIG 59) in which leaves are arranged in the strict formation reminiscent of the lotus plants seen so often in the foreground of Indian paintings and which are totally foreign to a Persian miniature. This *Shāhnāma* belonged to Jules Mohl (d. 1876) who translated the work into French in the 19th century, and his notes can still be seen in the margins of the preface pages of the manuscript. Unfortunately, in the preface of his own work Mohl fails to mention where he acquired Or. 1403, although he writes about other manuscripts in his own collection.

In Jain painting itself, the adoption by artists of figures derived from Arab and Persian sources was completely confined to the Saka King and his entourage in the Kālakā stories. However, an extension of this occurs in a manuscript of *circa* 1450, in which Persian elements fuse with the Gujarat Jain style. The miniatures of this copy of the *Khamsa* of Amīr Khusraw were dispersed and very few have survived. Possibly produced in Gujarat, these naive paintings (FIG 60) are an amalgam of several styles. The use of large decorative plants in some of the paintings is an Arab feature which was introduced into Iran in the early 14th century and it has been suggested that Mamluk originals inspired the compositions. This was with reference to indoor scenes in which the building is divided into three partitions with the main characters in the centre, the courtiers and attendants standing on either side. As this particular arrangement of rooms and occupants is also seen in Shiraz manuscripts of the late 14th century, both in a Muzaffarid miniature in the Keir collection⁽⁶⁾ and in a more



FIG 60 Alexander the Great
Detached miniature from the *Khamsa* of Amīr Khusraw. 12 × 22.5 cm, Sultanate
India, Gujarat(?), mid-15th century. The Art Institute of Chicago, 62-640

provincial manuscript in Tehran University Library⁽⁷⁾, it is possible that artists had Shiraz rather than Mamluk compositions to work from. The painting of Alexander the Great (FIG 60), a detached miniature from the mid-15th-century *Khamsa* of Amīr Khusraw in the Art Institute of Chicago (62-640), includes Shiraz features such as the squint eyes, pointed beards and the variety of cap, here worn by Alexander. The same architectural lay-out used in this painting occurs throughout the copy of the *Khamsa* of Nizāmī in Tehran University Central Library (MS 5179) (FIG 61) which bears the date 718/1318. This manuscript has sixteen miniatures which were probably added *circa* 1380 and which, yet again, appear to be provincial versions of the Muzaffarid style, this time contemporary. All the landscapes consist of simplified versions of the high round hills so typical of Muzaffarid work. Buildings are brick-built in a pattern in which the bricks are drawn longitudinally in the horizontal areas of the structure and vertically or at an angle in the upright pillars. The artist of the miniature reproduced (FIG 61) has combined architecture and landscape in one painting, the round hills rising above and behind the building in the foreground. The composition of the painting of Majnūn lying prostrate on Laylā's tomb⁽⁸⁾ is strikingly similar to a miniature from the mid-15th-century Amīr Khusraw manuscript in the Freer Gallery⁽⁹⁾. The architectural features and other details such as the large decorative plants were adopted by Shiraz artists from Arab painting and it is likely

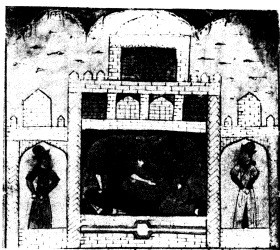


FIG 61 Alexander the Great with attendants
Khamza of Nizāmī. Persian, south provincial style, MS = 1318, miniatures = circa 1380.
Tehran University Central Library, MS 5179

that artists of western India would use imported Shiraz manuscripts at a time when trade relations between Iran and India were flourishing. In these, as in all miniatures inspired by Persian paintings, the Indian artists have employed their own characteristic colours such as bright yellow, carmine and pale green. They have also adapted the architecture to structures more familiar to them, as well as including the chauri bearer with his fly whisk, a servant indispensable to Indian dignitaries who never appears in purely Persian compositions.

Only a few examples of illustrated manuscripts known to have been produced for Indian Sultanate rulers have survived. Some of these are so heavily indebted to Persian precedents that their Indian origin is difficult to prove (or disprove) and they have often been dismissed as Persian provincial work, crude and inferior in comparison to the finished court styles. Offshoots of the major Persian styles, these so-called 'provincial' paintings may be, but for all that they often display an originality, in execution and choice of subject, which has disappeared in the more highly-finished court styles. When studied in the context of Indian painting, these provincial miniatures are of considerable importance for they fill a gap in the period before that of the splendid Mughal productions, from the *Hamzandma* onwards, and because they demonstrate that patronage was provided by the Islamic courts of Sultanate India.

In any discussion on Indian Sultanate painting it is with feelings of relief, and of solid ground beneath the feet, that one turns to manuscripts copied and illustrated in Malwa at the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th centuries. At last concrete facts concerning dates, identities of patrons and the place of copying emerge. Malwa in western India, which was ruled by the Sultanate Khalji dynasty at this time, was a great centre of book production and of learning. The capital, Mandu, was known as Shadiyabad, or City of Joy, by the Muslims. The royal library at Mandu must have included many Arabic and Persian illustrated manuscripts which, judging by surviving Malwa works, were an inspiration to the local artists. Again the contemporary Shiraz style (this time the Turkman style of the second half of the 15th century) is predominant, for artists as well as manuscripts were imported from Iran. Although the styles connected with the great centres of Iran, such as Herat and Tabriz, are considered to represent the ultimate in Persian painting, those of Shiraz merit a study all on their own. Shiraz artists were individualistic from the earliest settling-down period of the 14th century right through to the end of the 16th century. The styles of Shiraz were quite different, one from another, and instantly recognisable, right from the early naive 'wall-painting' compositions in the style associated with the Inju dynasty of the 1330s which was followed by the quirky squint-eyed Muzaffarid paintings of the second half of the 14th century, already discussed above. Iskandar Sultan proved to be one of the great Shiraz patrons in the early 15th century, delighting in small-format manuscripts and beautiful miniature paintings. Shāhrukh snatched away the best Shiraz artists for his Herat academy in 1414 but those who remained to work for Ibrāhīm Sultan (d. 1435) made up for their lack of finesse by the originality of their interpretations and their unusual style, as instanced by the huge broad-chested long-necked horses, their ears permanently laid back, which appeared at this time and disappeared in the next period (c. 1460–1500). The new style evolved by the Turkman invaders, from the mid-15th century, reflected their own physical characteristics of short stocky bodies and of the terrain over which they ruled, whether meadow, mountain or desert. The Turkman style of painting was superseded early in the 16th century by one of supreme elegance, in complete contrast to work of the previous half century. People had slender bodies and small heads which were set on long necks, the faces typified by round rosy cheeks and beady black eyes. Horses, too, changed in character from the phlegmatic Turkman animals, becoming spindly-legged and nervy. This style, in general, seems to have skipped the half-century in which Turkman artists predominated and to have reverted to the elegance associated with the period of Bāysunghur (d. 1433). In all Shiraz styles, the paintings retained the convention of the high horizon well into the 16th century, in addition to the gold leaf pattern in the illumination, which is seen as early as 1370 in Shiraz Qur'āns. Later, in the 16th century, Shiraz manuscripts and illustrations become bigger in size and by the end of this period, copiously illustrated manuscripts of large format were produced. Whereas Qazvin and, to a greater extent, Isfahan paintings introduced fewer and larger figures, Shiraz, true to its tradition, travelled its own road, crowding the miniatures with myriads of small people and animals. In the hackneyed *Shāhnāma* subject of Rustam killing the White Demon,

paintings in Isfahan manuscripts would confine their characters to Rustam, the White Demon, Rustam's guide, tied to a tree, and the horse, Rakhsh. Shiraz manuscripts on the other hand would have demons popping up from behind every rock in the mountain range, to say nothing of the numerous soldiers and other onlookers (FIG 42). Nearly all these Shiraz styles are represented in illustrated manuscripts of either the Sultanate period up to *circa* 1532 or, later, in those of Deccani origin, principally produced at Golconda and Bijapur, *circa* 1570–90. Shiraz was a great centre for the production of manuscripts on a commercial basis and no doubt they were exported to the main book-production centres of India in some numbers. This is not to say that 15th-century Herat work or the Tabriz style of the 16th century were unrepresented. A Mandu manuscript of the *Bustān* is illustrated with miniatures which were inspired by those of the period of Sultan Husayn, *circa* 1485–94, at Herat, and, owing to the interest of Humāyūn, the second Mughal emperor, in Shah Tahmāsp's academy and its artists, Tabriz work inspired early Mughal painting in the mid-16th century.

The British Library has two manuscripts produced at Mandu, the capital of Malwa, a glossary (Or. 3299)⁽¹⁰⁾ and a work on automata (Or. 13718). Both are connected with Muḥammad ibn Dā'ūd Shādiyābādī who, as his name implies, was a native of Mandu. He worked under the patronage of both Ghiyāṣ al-Dīn Khalījī who came to the throne in 1469 and his son, Nāsir al-Dīn Khalījī who succeeded him in 1500. The author of the glossary, Muḥammad ibn Dā'ūd Shādiyābādī, compiled it in 873/1468–9 at the beginning of the reign of Ghiyāṣ al-Dīn, stating in the preface that he had applied himself, from his youth, to the study of the old Persian poets. The work contains rare words and proper names occurring in ancient Persian poetry and is entitled *Miftāḥ al-fuṣalā*. This copy, which is interesting from several aspects, philological, artistic and calligraphic, probably dates from *circa* 1490–1500. Written in the bold *nasta'liq* script also employed in other Malwa manuscripts, it contains one hundred and eighty-seven small paintings which illustrate the meaning of words and also some proper names. In some instances, a miniature will be used to represent two different meanings of a single word as given in the text. For example, the word *gūr* meaning both a wild ass and a tomb is illustrated by a wild ass galloping past a tomb. Similarly *yās*, the word for a dog that hunts by sight and also for a panther, is represented by a dog, head held high, chasing a panther. The words chosen as subjects for illustration are often unusual and the artist has demonstrated his wit and ingenuity in many instances. The whole work must be the illustration-researcher's answer to prayer, for it covers a wealth of subjects, including musical instruments, weapons, children's toys and games, items of costume, trades and occupations, crafts, tools, materials, parts of buildings and tents, plants, vices, illnesses and mythical subjects (FIG 62). All the miniatures are the work of one artist who must have been imported from Shiraz to work at Mandu. The manuscript is illustrated in the Turkman style throughout, with only very occasionally, an Indian detail such as the ends of a moustache pointing upwards (folio 146b) or a woman wearing a large earring (folio 175a) or architecture with arches akin to those characteristic of Mandu buildings. The painting illustrating the mythical *Waqūdīq* tree (FIG 62), which bears human and animal heads, contains most of the characteristics of the Persian Turkman



FIG 62 *Waḡḡiq Tree*
Miftāḥ al-fuṣalā by Muḥammad
ibn Dā'ūd Shādiyābādī. 19 × 12.3 cm.
Sultanate India, Malwa, circa 1500.
Or. 3299 (293a)

style. The figures, which are short and stocky, are wearing the typical embroidered robes and large turbans. Both kinds of landscape, the desert with its simple plants scattered about and the fertile land covered in thick foliage, occur in this miniature as does the high horizon.

All patrons of book-production had notable libraries, and the Mandu rulers would be no exception. Apart from the Shiraz manuscripts, the library would almost certainly include Persian manuscripts illustrated in other styles, in addition to Arabic Qur'āns and scientific and learned works. Persian was the court language of India and the works of Persian and Arabic theologians, poets and scientists would be well represented. Some would be illustrated with diagrams, others finely illuminated, providing constant inspiration for the artists and illuminators of Mandu.

Another famous Mandu manuscript (Pers. MS 149), known as the *Ni'matnāma* (Book of Delicacies)⁽¹¹⁾, is in the India Office Library. Although later than the glossary, it must have been begun before 1501, the year Ghiyās al-Dīn died. It, like Or. 3299, is written in bold *nasta'liq* on thick paper. The miniatures illustrate a text every bit as interesting as that of the glossary, but they differ in that they are the work of Indian pupils of a Shiraz artist. The latter may well have been the artist who illustrated the glossary, as the early miniatures in a section on husbandry in the *Ni'matnāma* are in the Turkman style, although the rest of the paintings become considerably more Indianised in character as the book progresses. When Ghiyās al-Dīn succeeded to the throne in 1469, he made a most unusual and original accession speech in which he announced that, henceforth, he would give up the cares of state and devote himself to the kind of pleasures in which his subjects could share. He was as good as his word and, leaving the management of the state to his son Nāsir al-Dīn, proceeded to collect together a bevy of girls with the intention of teaching them the arts of gracious living. Subjects such as dancing, singing, music, reading, recitation, the culinary arts and the preparation of cosmetics, perfumes, medicines and aphrodisiacs were all included in their education. He also raised an army of five hundred Abyssinian girls to act as his bodyguard, dressing and arming them like soldiers. The manuscript, which is mainly a collection of recipes and prescriptions, also has sections on husbandry and hunting. Ghiyās al-Dīn, who appears in many of the miniatures, supervising the preparation of food, drink and perfume, is portrayed with an upturned moustache. In *The Art of the Book in India*⁽¹²⁾, Jerry Losty has drawn attention to the only miniature in the British Library glossary (Or. 3299) in which a similar king is shown with the same upturned moustache and it may indeed be a portrait of Ghiyās al-Dīn in that manuscript also, in which he represents a king being presented with a pair of royal sandals. In the illustration of the preparation of sherbet in the *Ni'matnāma* (FIG 63) Ghiyās al-Dīn is personally supervising the work of his female cooks, as was his practice. Apart from the plant-strewn ground in this painting and the group of youths, their faces shown in three-quarter view, standing near him holding a chauri and vessels, the Persian Turkman influence has become submerged by indigenous features, for the women's costume, their large earrings and bangles and the faces, often in profile but without the protruding eye, are all Indian. In one miniature there is a row of single flowering lotus plants along the edge of the water, in another typical Indian hangings and in several the architecture reflects that of Mandu. The husbandry section includes a miniature of cows being milked which shows such strong Turkman influence that it may have been painted by the artist of the glossary in the British Library (Or. 3299). Either he or another Turkman artist certainly had a hand in the *Ni'matnāma* although the Indian pupils did the major part of the work on the illustrations. Altogether there seem to have been at least three artists involved, for a section at the end has later miniatures indicating that the manuscript was completed in the early years of Nāsir al-Dīn's reign after he had succeeded his father in 1501. As in book illustration in Iran, by the early 16th century the format of the miniatures in these Indian Sultanate manuscripts has changed and is no longer confined to a horizontal strip taking up about one-third of the page.



FIG. 63 Ghiyās al-Dīn Khaljī supervising the making of sherbet
Nāṣir-nāma of Nāsir al-Dīn. Sultanate India, Malwa, circa 1500-1.
 British Library, India Office Library, Pers. MS 149 (40)

That artists working for Nāsir al-Dīn had Herat manuscripts of the finest quality to work from, and did not rely solely on Shiraz originals, is demonstrated by the style of the miniatures in a copy of the *Bustān* of Sa'dī. The painters of this manuscript drew their inspiration from the productions of artists working at the renowned academy at Herat under the distinguished patronage of Sultan Ḥusayn Bāyqarā (d. 1506) whose long reign there began in 1469. The manuscript of the *Khamṣa* of Nizāmī in the

British Library (Or. 6810) (PLATE 9) which was copied and illustrated in Herat in 1494 has details within its miniatures which are repeated, in a somewhat simpler style, in the Mandu *Bustān*. Although the British Library's *Khamsa* of Nizāmī was taken to India, (it was in the Mughal emperors' library by 1605), it is not known when it left Herat. It is unlikely that a manuscript which was not completed in Herat until 1494 would be available to the Mandu artists as early as 1501-2, the date when the *Bustān* was completed, and one of the very fine manuscripts which were copied and illustrated at Herat in the 1480s is more likely to have been used as a model.

The Mandu *Bustān* of Sa'dī (which is in the National Museum at New Delhi, No. 48.6/4) not only gives the date of completion but includes three inscriptions which supply the name of the artist and illuminator. He is one and the same person, who also gives his place of working, i.e. 'Hājji Maḥmūd at the city of Mandu'. He has also signed the illuminated heading ('*uncān*') at the beginning of the text on folio 1b which is identical in design to Herat work (PLATE 45), although the colour-scheme is simpler, as indeed it is also in the miniatures, indigo often replacing the rich lapis lazuli blue of the Persian painting. The Mandu artist has made a good attempt to imitate the shape and subtle colour schemes of Herat rock formations in which greens and blues and browns of varying shades and depths merge, one into another. The same is true of the artist of a Transoxianian *Shāhnāma* (Or. 13859) (FIG 37), and it is interesting that miniatures which are Herat-influenced but which, although painted in the same period, emanated from very different regions, should have points in common. Another feature occurring in both is the kind of hat with an up-turned brim which is occasionally seen in Herat paintings of *circa* 1490 and which, in Bukhara painting by the mid-16th century, was a common form of headgear, being the sole alternative to the turban.

Other details in Herat miniatures, which occur in the 1494 painting of Farhād visiting Shīrīn (PLATE 9), including the type of window in a circular design, the view into the garden, the pool and water channel in the tiled floor and the vase of narcissus flowers, are to be seen in one or other of the Mandu *Bustān* paintings. Details such as these, together with the quality of the *nasta'liq* script of the scribe Shāhsāvar, have led to the opinion, in some quarters, that the miniatures were painted by a Persian artist imported to Mandu from Herat. Placed side by side with a Herat manuscript, the difference between the styles is immediately manifest, particularly if the Herat miniature is by Bihzād. The compositions of the Mandu paintings at once appear simple while the palette is dull and restricted in comparison to the brilliance of the glowing Herat colours which, combined with gold, are used with such artistry and subtlety. There is a preponderance of brickwork in proportion to tiles in the *Bustān*, the landscapes are covered with large indeterminate plants and the human figures are heavy in comparison to the elegance of Herat work.

The fourth manuscript, a Persian translation of the famous Arabic work on automata, *Kitāb fī ma'rifa al-ḥiyāl al-ḥandasiyya* by Ibn ar-Razzāz al-Jazarī, was translated by the same Muḥammad ibn Dā'ūd Shādiyābādī who was the author of the glossary (Or. 3299) mentioned above. This brilliant scholar must have been one of the pillars of the Mandu establishment for many years because, whereas he originally

wrote the glossary in 1468–9, the automata manuscript (British Library, Or. 13718) was not completed until 1509, the year before the death of Nāsir al-Dīn. Homer nodded in this instance, as Muḥammad ibn Dā'ūd Shādiyābādī had been commissioned to translate another Arabic scientific work. Muhammad Isa Waley discovered this fact when he was working on the manuscript after it had been acquired by the British Library and also that the translator did not realise his mistake, but Muḥammad ibn Dā'ūd was probably an elderly man by this time. Commissioned text or not, this manuscript is very interesting as the miniatures have been copied from a much earlier Arabic manuscript. The compositions have remained virtually the same as the originals, but details within the paintings have been altered so that costume and musical instruments are Indian. An Arabic manuscript (A. 3472) in the Topkapı Sarayı, which is dated a few years after al-Jazarī finished compiling the work in *circa* 1204–5, is probably the earliest illustrated copy and no doubt served as the model for others, of which there are many⁽¹³⁾, for most have diagrams and compositions that are identical. An elephant, which forms part of a water clock, is ridden by a mahout who is threatened by two serpents whirling above him. The mahout, whose arms are intended to hit the elephant's head alternately with a mallet and an ankus, was deemed sufficiently complicated to merit its own diagram. In the Arabic version of this, the elephant's legs are only sketched in outline but the Indian artist of the Mandu copy could not resist painting them grey and adding the toes, while the rest of his drawing remains a simple line diagram. The elephant clock appears again in a miniature of *circa* 1650 in the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin (Ind. 24, 33a) in a fine Mughal version in which the artist concentrated so much on the magnificent elephant and the two huge green and red serpents that he did not leave room for the mahout at all.

For the first time for centuries, probably since they left Mandu for (to us) unknown destinations, these four manuscripts came together again in 1982. The British Library's glossary (Or. 3299) and automata manuscript (Or. 13718), the *Bustān* from New Delhi (48.6/4) and the *Ni'matnāma* (Pers. MS 149) from the India Office Library, were all in the British Library's exhibition *The Art of the Book in India*, which was part of the Festival of India held in the United Kingdom in 1982.

Between 1511, when Nāsir al-Dīn died, and 1562 when Akbar conquered Malwa, there are no known manuscripts with inscriptions which indisputably link them with the rulers of Malwa. After 1562 manuscripts and artists were undoubtedly taken to his library and studios by Akbar who gathered them in from many parts of India. Apart from the period *circa* 1490–1510 in Malwa, Sultanate manuscripts giving date and place, let alone artist, are exceedingly rare and those that are recognizable as originating from Sultanate India pose questions about provenance which are almost impossible to answer at the present time. The rare discovery of previously unknown (or unrecognised) Sultanate manuscripts with informative colophons is always an occasion for rejoicing. A Sultanate manuscript in the Spencer Collection in New York Public Library (Indo Persian MS No. 2) with a colophon giving details of the date (1501) and place (Jaunpur) has yet to be published, but may well prove to be associated with the Bengal group discussed below.

THE SULTANATE PERIOD OF INDIA



PLATE 32 Alexander the Great receives insulting gifts from Darius
Sharafnāma from the *Khamsa* of Nizami. 15 × 13.8 cm. Sultanate India, Bengal,
 1531-2. Or. 13836 (21b)

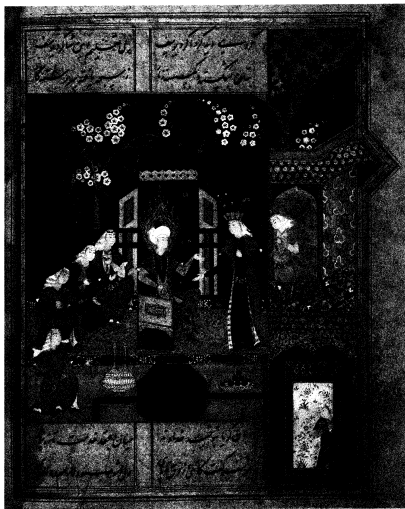


PLATE 33 Zulaykhā watching Yūsuf with her maidens. By 'Abd Sayyid Shams al-Dīn Yūsuf u Zulaykhā by Jāmī. 17.3 × 13.5 cm. Sultanate India, Bengal (?), 1508. Or. 4535 (83b)

The British Library has acquired an important Sultanate manuscript (Or. 13836) within the past few years, which is a copy of the first part of the *Iskandarnāma*, entitled the *Sharafnāma*, by Nizāmī, the fifth poem of his *Khamṣa*⁽¹⁴⁾. Apart from the fact that details in its colophon admit it to the small, but select, group of well-documented illustrated Sultanate works, it is, so far, the only manuscript with an indisputable Bengal provenance. Prior to the discovery of this manuscript, Bengal belonged to the same category as Golconda and Bijapur, sharing with them the mysterious fact that no Sultanate manuscripts which could be ascribed to those provinces had survived. There may be manuscripts in some of the many libraries in India which will come to light and prove to be Sultanate works from provinces other than Malwa. How fortunate anyone would be who had permission to search, for looking through manuscript collections in other libraries is like opening a casket of jewels, every collection having its pearls. The pearls would invariably be recognised and treasured, but lesser jewels, equally valuable, might be overlooked. It so often happens that manuscripts illustrated with naive, simple, sometimes even crude, paintings are historically no less valuable and, indeed, can be of great importance in the study of the various styles of Iran, Ottoman Turkey and India. They can be the vital factor in linking periods and styles of painting not only within the boundaries of one country but far beyond, demonstrating the movement of artists and manuscripts from one country to another and the subsequent effect on the styles of miniature painting.

The Bengal *Sharafnāma* (Or. 13836) has an inscription on folio 72a giving the date, 938/1531-2, as well as the name of the scribe, Aḥmad called Ḥamīd Khān ibn Maḥmūd, and a dedication to the ruler Abu'l-Muẓaffar Nusrat Shah ibn Ḥusayn Shah. Nusrat Shah succeeded his father 'Alā al-Dīn Ḥusayn Shah in 1519 and, as discussed below, probably inherited an atelier which he continued to patronise at his capital, Gaur. Nusrat Shah was murdered in 1532, the date of his death being significant as it coincides with that given in the colophon of the manuscript and probably accounts for the fact that some of the miniatures are incomplete, for work would probably be abandoned when the patron died. The date of his death has been given incorrectly, as some years later than 1532, in some quarters but it has so much bearing on the state of the paintings that it must be emphasized that 1532 is the correct date of Nusrat Shah's death. In one miniature (folio 53b) flasks and bowls remain without colour and faces are unfinished. The miniatures are more Indianised than the Malwa paintings but there are details which point to Shiraz influence. It would appear that at least two artists were working on the manuscript as one miniature, of the scene of the battle between Alexander and the Habashi (Abyssinian) army, is full of small neat figures, both on foot and on elegant horses. The latter are very unlike those appearing in other miniatures (43b and 53b) which are typical of the distorted and stylised animals seen in Indian paintings at various times. The Shiraz high horizons slope down in a series of semi-circles which are edged with bands of white and brown, outlined in blue. Skies are gold or a deep midnight blue and Chinese clouds are white, red or orange, outlined sometimes in blue, at others in white or gold. There is a feeling of movement and urgency in the

battle scenes and also in the rocks exploding out of the ground, which are painted in green, blue, mauve, orange and purple with darker streaks of the same colour. The peculiarity of the position of the eyes again arises in this manuscript, as it did in the early 15th century in the Jain *Kālakāchāryā* painting (FIG 57) for the pupils of the eyes of the more Persianised characters which are rolling into the corners, are positioned in the centre of the eye in the Indian faces.

Another Shiraz characteristic occurring in the *Sharafnāma* is the use of sprays of gold leaves in manuscript decoration, both in illumination and in paintings (PLATE 32). This design was used as early as 1375–6 in Shiraz Qur'ān illumination⁽¹⁵⁾ and survived in Shiraz painting until *circa* 1520. An example of its use can be seen on the dome in the *Shāhnāma* Turkman-style miniature (PLATE 7) of 1486. In Indian painting, its influence is still apparent in a provincial Mughal Rāmāyana painting as late as *circa* 1600⁽¹⁶⁾. Another Shiraz feature, the use of designs within triangles as page decorations, is first seen in the manuscripts produced for Iskandar Sultan at Shiraz in *circa* 1410 where they occur as 'thumbpieces' on every folio of text (FIG 75). These triangular designs were later used as verse divisions within the text, particularly in the Shah Tahmāsp manuscripts of Tabriz *circa* 1539, and it is interesting to note their use in the Bengal *Sharafnāma* of 1532. In the miniature (PLATE 32) which illustrates the quarrel between Alexander the Great and Darius, the gold leaf pattern is used as a frieze round the building. As was the case with provincial Persian illustrated manuscripts, the Sultanate artists have sometimes chosen rarely-illustrated episodes for subjects of miniatures. Alexander offended Darius by failing to send him gifts and made matters worse by telling Darius he had enough treasure already. Darius, saying that Alexander by behaving like a child merited the playthings of a child, sent him polo sticks and a ball (shown on his left in the painting) together with a bowl of sesame seed representing the countless soldiers in the army of Darius. Alexander chose to interpret the gifts as omens of his own victory. The polo ball represented the world (i.e. the possessions of Darius) which Alexander would draw towards himself with a polo stick (representing his own army). He threw the sesame seed to birds which ate every grain, an omen of the way Alexander's army would devour the soldiers of Darius.

A miniature, somewhat similar to the battle scene (folio 17b) in the *Sharafnāma*, is included in the Preetorius Collection in Munich, and Dr Hans-Caspar Graf von Bothmer⁽¹⁷⁾ understandably put the painting into the 'problems section' of his catalogue. It may well be a Sultanate painting of *circa* 1530 as it shares certain characteristics of the *Sharafnāma* including the high horizon, plain beige landscape and the use of the deep blue, seen in other Sultanate manuscripts, and a somewhat muddy gold sky. There is the same atmosphere of bustle, and of soldiers on spindly little legs scurrying about, that occurs in the *Sharafnāma* battle scene. Shiraz work would again appear to be the inspiration, for a similar but more ambitious painting, illustrating the battle between the tribes, occurs in a 1529 *Khamṣa* of Nizāmī in the Chester Beatty Library. This (P. 195) is one of two manuscripts of the *Khamṣa* with identical dates, 936/1529, and scribe, Murshid. The latter was responsible for the copying of so many manuscripts at Shiraz at this time that he must never have



FIG 64 Yūsuf and Zulaykhā together. By Sayyid Shams al-Dīn
Yūsuf u Zulaykhā by Jāmi. 17.5 × 13.5 cm. Sultanate India, Bengal(?), early 16th century.
 Or. 4535 (136b)

stopped working. The composition of the battle scene (folio 145b) in P. 195 and of the hammam scene in the second manuscript (P. 196) (which inspired the *Sindbādnāma* painting) seem to have been copied over and over again in manuscripts which were produced commercially at Shiraz in the 1530s and 40s, and of which some reached India.

The study of the Bengal Sultanate manuscript (Or. 13836) sparked off ideas about another British Library manuscript (Or. 4535). A copy of *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā* (Joseph and Potiphar's wife) by Jāmī, it contains twenty-six miniatures, one of which (folio 136b) bears the name of the artist, Sayyid Shams al-Dīn (FIG 64). The style of the miniatures and the provenance of the manuscript have been a problem for many years, and in its time it has been ascribed to Shiraz and to Ottoman Turkey. However, the style and decoration of the architecture (FIG 64), the brightness of many of the colours and the depth of the blue pigment (PLATE 33), and other details, point it firmly towards Sultanate India. It is strongly influenced by the delicate Shiraz style of *circa* 1505–15 which was in such contrast to the heavy Turkman paintings it succeeded. People are lively with bright expressive faces, their small heads set on long necks, their bodies slim and elegant. Animals share this elegance, particularly the tall spindly-legged horses. This style, in all its elegance, occurs in a Shiraz Persian copy of the *Gulistān* of Sa'dī dated 919/1513 (PLATE 13) in the British Library (Or. 11847) and comparison between the two manuscripts leaves no doubt as to the influence of the style on Or. 4535 (PLATE 33).

In problematical manuscripts, details, often minute, of costume or jewellery, of plants and trees, architecture, animals or facial characteristics, can sometimes pinpoint the country of origin, if not the actual province or region. It is easy to miss small but vital clues such as the striped grey squirrel (folio 83b) in the trees which form a background to the scene of Yūsuf in the garden with Zulaykhā and her companions (PLATE 33). The only places in Iran where grey striped palm squirrels (*funambulus pennanti*) are found are in the palmgroves near Kirman and in Baluchistan, neither place a likely source for an illustrated manuscript of this quality. On the other hand, the grey five-striped palm squirrel is so extremely common in north India, the most common and familiar of all the Indian wild animals, that an Indian artist would have no hesitation in introducing one to a painting, together with other details familiar to him. The emperor Bābur describes the palm squirrel in the section of his memoirs in which he writes of Indian fauna, noting in apparent surprise that it climbed trees so the animal must have been unfamiliar to him in Farghana and Afghanistan. The Mughal manuscript of the *Bāburnāma* (Or. 3714) in the British Library includes a charming painting of palm squirrels (folio 383b) by the artist Jagannāth.

In his description of the *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā* manuscript (Or. 4535), Rieu⁽¹⁸⁾ is suspicious of a note on the first page which states that the manuscript was bought for the library of Sultan 'Alā al-Dīn Iskandar Shah in 913/1507–8. He considers the handwriting to be similar to that of a much later note (1293/1876) written by the last owner. However, the date 1507–8, certainly fits that of the Shiraz style which influenced the miniatures for it is seen in Shiraz manuscripts as early as 1505. It is

possible that 1507-8 is indeed the date of the *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā* manuscript (Or. 4535) and that the patron was the father of Nusrat Shah, i.e. 'Alā al-Dīn Husayn Shah (d. 1519) who, like the Malwa rulers, imported manuscripts from Shiraz and commissioned fine works to be copied at his capital, Gaur, in Bengal. If so, it is more understandable that Indian features should, by 1531-2, predominate in the *Sharafnāma* paintings and that the previously strong influence of the original Shiraz miniatures should have been all but lost by this time.

The combination of the elegance of the paintings in the *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā*, together with details within them such as the adornment of the flaring halos with thin lines of red and green, and the decoration of pillar and arch (FIG 64), has been thought to point to a Deccani provenance, either Golconda or Bijapur. With the extensive use of gold, and certain greens and reds, they do bear a slight similarity to the work produced for the Qutb Shahs and 'Adil Shahs later in the century at, respectively, Golconda and Bijapur. However, certain features which occur in the 1531-2 Bengal *Sharafnāma* are also to be seen in this earlier *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā*, and it is much more likely that the latter was produced at Bengal under the patronage of 'Alā al-Dīn Husayn Shah. After he died in 1519, his son, Nusrat Shah, probably continued the tradition of patronage of book production, using the court studios and workshops which were already in existence at Gaur.

The deep midnight-blue occurs in the *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā* manuscript, as it does in the later *Sharafnāma*, being particularly effective as a background for the gold moon and stars (folio 53a) or a large gold ribbon cloud (57b). In the latter painting, in which Yūsuf is being bullied by his brothers, the ridge of the dark-green landscape is indicated by a yellow band forming a series of semicircles. The same convention of a yellow band is used to encircle a tree in the background of the sesame seed miniature (PLATE 32) in the 1531-2 *Sharafnāma*. Blue and pink rocks which erupt against the dark blue (57b), and occur again in the foreground of another miniature (63b), that of Yūsuf bathing in the Nile, are the predecessors of the kind of rocks, painted in similarly clear bright colours, in the *Sharafnāma* miniatures (folio 41b) of Alexander visiting a hermit. Perhaps the most Indianised miniature in the *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā* is that of the nurse trying to calm Zulaykhā, who, driven frantic by her love of Yūsuf, has had her ankles manacled (folio 33b). The face of the nurse is in profile and, unlike the Indianised miniatures in the *Sharafnāma*, this painting has retained the original Persian elegance. The manuscript is written in fine *nasta'liq* on good quality beige polished paper, but neither the scribe's name nor the date are given in the colophon.

While there is clear evidence that the Sultanate rulers of both Malwa and Bengal were patrons of artists and of book production, it is strange that nothing is known of similar patronage practised, at the same time, by the rulers of the neighbouring kingdoms of the Deccan, i.e. Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Golconda. Again there may be manuscripts, as yet undiscovered and unrevealed, lurking in libraries waiting to be recognised or to be published.

The earliest Deccani manuscripts which provide details of provenance are the *Tarikh-i Husayn Shāhī* of 1565-7 produced in Ahmadnagar and now in Poona⁽¹⁹⁾ and

the *Nujūm al-'ulūm*, (Indian MS 2) in the Chester Beatty Library⁽²⁰⁾, of 1570 from Bijapur. While Ahmadnagar came under Mughal rule in 1600, Golconda and Bijapur remained independent until 1686–7 which was a remarkable achievement. The Chester Beatty *Nujūm al-'ulūm* is a heavily-illustrated work on astronomy, astrology and magic followed by chapters on the horse, the elephant, weapons and musical instruments. Most of its eight hundred and seventy-six miniatures are in the Deccani style of Bijapur but earlier Shiraz elements have survived, particularly in a small painting of Saturn represented by a Rustam-like figure, complete with leopard-head helmet decoration, tiger skin tunic, ornamented belt and high boots.

The Shiraz tradition of producing illustrated manuscripts commercially, which was so much in evidence in the late 15th century, continued unabated in the 16th. That India was an excellent market for such manuscripts has been seen at Malwa *circa* 1500 and there is irrefutable evidence that they were also imported into Golconda in the mid-16th century. A copy of the *Sindbādnāma* dated *circa* 1575 in the India Office Library and Records (Persian MS 3214)⁽²¹⁾ has frontispiece paintings and compositions within the text which are identical in drawing to those in Safavid Shiraz manuscripts of *circa* 1540–50. By this time Shiraz compositions were becoming somewhat fussy (PLATE 14), particularly the double-page frontispieces of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. In the miniature of Solomon (usually the right-hand painting), he is pictured enthroned, surrounded and confronted by and beneath innumerable jinns, animals and flying birds. Similarly, myriads of angels hover over the Queen of Sheba, Bilqīs, as she sits on her throne, bevy of handmaidens all around her, so that there is scarcely room for the hoopoe who carried her messages to Solomon. A double-frontispiece of this kind, copied directly from a Shiraz original, adorns the beginning of the *Sindbādnāma* while the manuscript also includes a miniature exactly like that of the hammam scene in the Hārūn al-Rashīd story in Persian manuscripts of the *Khamṣa* of Nizāmī. Almost identical Shiraz compositions of the same hammam scene also occur in manuscripts at the Topkapı Sarayı (Hazine 765, folio 31b) dated 1538 and at Cambridge, St John's College Library MS 1434, dated 1540, which is reproduced in the catalogue of the 1977 Edinburgh exhibition, *Imperial Images in Persian Painting* (FIG 166, page 73). In addition there are at least two others, Chester Beatty P. 196 of 1529 and the Freer Gallery 08.261 of 1548. In all these manuscripts, the central group and the single figures, one wrapping a towel round himself, another pouring water over his head, are identical in each composition as are certain architectural details such as niches containing oil jars. The Golconda artist has used paler colours for floor tiles and has introduced a section of brown tiles not seen in the Istanbul miniature. The introduction of decorative architectural features which are quite alien to Persian painting is one of the specialities of this Golconda *Sindbādnāma*. Deccani characteristics are apparent in the colours of the tiles, in the balconies jutting from the buildings and in the way the latter, painted in contrasting colours, have been built up, block upon block. The *Sindbādnāma* appears to date from about 1575 as Golconda, by then, was the only Indian court to retain such a marked Iranian influence, Akbar having attracted so many artists from the other regions to his Mughal court.

Another group of five Golconda paintings which were found stuck in a manuscript, of which they formed no part, are now in the British Museum 1974-6-17-06 (1-5). They were discovered by Douglas Barrett⁽²²⁾ who identified the prince who is being entertained in four as Muḥammad Qūlī Qūb Shah (d. 1626) of Golconda, who would have been about twenty-four at the time. These paintings demonstrate to perfection how Deccani artists adopted supremely decorative features of Persian painting, such as geometric designs on architecture, paintings on walls behind a throne, ornate tiles, canopies and carpets to enhance their work, as well as the glowing colours and abundant use of gold, which combined with an elegance of line, is the hallmark of Deccani painting.

In the above discussion the emphasis has been on the influence of Persian miniatures on Sultanate and Deccani painting but there is another, if somewhat rare, aspect to this. In the Houghton *Shāhnāma*, a manuscript produced at the height of the Tabriz academy under the patronage first of Shāh Ismā'il and then under Shah Tahmāsp, there is an unmistakable Indian element in one miniature. In the painting (folio 24b)⁽²³⁾ of Jamshīd teaching the crafts, he is seated on a throne, along the front of which is a row of five elephants viewed head-on. This is a most unusual throne-decoration as, in both Indian and Persian art, thrones are supported by lions. The artist must have copied an Indian work of art, a carving on a box perhaps, as he has drawn the elephants far better than those usually seen in Persian miniatures at this time, *circa* 1527. A similar frieze of elephants occurs on the 8th-century rock-cut temple of Kailasa at Ellora in mid-Maharashtra, east of Bombay.

(1) K. Ādahl, 'A Khamsa of Nizāmī of 1439,' *Acta Universitatis Upsalensis*, 20, Uppsala 1981.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) C. Rieu, *Persian MSS in the British Museum*, Vol. 2, p. 534.

(4) J.P. Losty, *The Art of the Book in India*, 1982.

(5) V. Enderlein, *Die Miniaturen der Berliner Bāisonqur-Handschrift*, Leipzig, 1970, p. 25.

(6) Reproduced in K. Ādahl, *A Khamsa of Nizāmī of 1439*, Uppsala, 1981.

(7) N.M. Titley, 'A fourteenth-century Nizāmī manuscript in Tehran,' *Kunst des Orients*, VIII (1/2).

(8) *Ibid.* fig. 9.

(9) Reproduced (PLATE 7) in R. Ettinghausen, *Paintings of the Sultans and Emperors of India in American Collections*, New Delhi, 1961.

(10) N.M. Titley, 'An illustrated Persian glossary of the 16th century,' *British Museum Quarterly*, Vol. XXXIX (1-2).

(11) R. Skelton, 'The Ni'matnama: a landmark in Malwa painting,' *Marg*, Vol. 12, Bombay, 1958, pp. 44-50.

(12) J.P. Losty, *op. cit.*

(13) R. Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting*, 1962. Reproduces a version dated 715/1315.

(14) R. Skelton, 'The Iskandar Nama of Nusrat Shah,' *Indian Painting*, Calcutta, London 1978.

(15) M. Lings, *The Quranic Art of Calligraphy and Illumination*, London, 1976, p. 60.

(16) Terence McInerney, *Indian Painting 1525-1825*, Exhibition Catalogue, David Carrut Ltd; 1982, pp. 28-29.

(17) Hans-Caspar Graf von Bothmer, *Die islamischen Miniaturen der Sammlung Preteroria*, Munich, 1982, pp. 172-3.

(18) C. Rieu, *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts*, Supplement, p. 190.

(19) D. Barrett and B. Gray, *Painting of India*, 1963, pp. 115-7.

(20) T. Arnold and J.V.S. Wilkinson, *Chester Beatty Library: Catalogue of the Indian Miniatures*, 1936, Vol. I, pp. 2-4; Vol. II, PLATES 5-5.

(21) I. Stehoukine, *Les peintures des manuscrits Safavides de 1502-1587*, Paris, 1959, p. 137. PLATES LXXXVIII-IX.

(22) D. Barrett, 'Some unpublished Deccan Miniatures,' *Lalit Kala*, No. 7, April, 1960.

(23) M.B. Dickson and S.C. Welch, *The Houghton Shahnamah*, 1981, Vol. II, PLATE II.

Mughal India

During the past decade Mughal painting has been particularly well-documented. Following in the line of Brown, Martin, Arnold, Wilkinson, Kuhnelt, Goetz, Ettinghausen, Skelton and Cary Welch, young scholars including Pramod Chandra⁽¹⁾, Milo Beach⁽²⁾ and Jerry Losty⁽³⁾, have published their findings. Having worked on key manuscripts and on various collections, they have written on newly-discovered material and on its place and significance in the study of Mughal painting. It is not intended that this chapter should be about Mughal painting as such, but to use it as an opportunity to publish some of the paintings from well-known and less well-known manuscripts in the British Library, with a brief resumé on the history of the style. The manuscripts span the period from the mid-16th century to the 19th and range from the sumptuous works produced at the height of Akbar's patronage, through those of the so-called sub-Imperial style, commissioned by courtiers or high officials, to the provincial work of Multan and Rajaur and, finally, to that of Kashmir. Even taking into account the fact that, soon after his accession in 1556, Akbar attracted artists to his studios from all parts of India, it is surprising how quickly the Mughal style was formed. This was partly due to European influence but, considering that the Mughal school was founded by artists taken from Tabriz in Iran and that they, and some of those already working in India for Muslim patrons of the Delhi Sultanate, were steeped in the tradition of Persian painting, it is strange how soon the Persian influence waned. Not only were artists attracted from Iran to India by Humāyūn, but illustrated Persian manuscripts of the highest quality were also taken there.

In the first great work produced for Akbar, the *Ḥamsanāma* (FIG 66), Persian influence is clearly discernible in the earlier miniatures, but by the end of the fifteen years spent on completing the paintings, the Mughal style was well established. There are exceptions, particularly in manuscripts produced at Allahabad *circa* 1600–4, when Prince Salim, the future Emperor Jahāngīr (d. 1627), who favoured the Persian style of painting, was there. The Persian artist Āqā Rīzā (PLATE 40) retained his own style and influenced that of his son Abu'l-Ḥasan, both of whom worked on a manuscript of the *Anvār-i Suhaylī* (Lights of Canopus)⁽⁴⁾ for Jahāngīr (Add. 18579). After the death of Jahāngīr's successor, Shāhjahān, in 1666, the next in line, Awrangzib (d. 1707), was not interested in painting. The emphasis shifted to the Deccan and the patronage of the Qutb Shah rulers and to provincial centres such as Multan in the Punjab and to Rajaur in Kashmir.

The Mughal (a corruption of the word Mongol, the line from whom they were

descended) emperors, Bābur, Humāyūn, Akbar, Jahāngīr and Shāhjahān, recorded everything, either in the form of diaries or as records kept by a court official. Bābur, who was born in 1483, recounts the events of his life from 1494 when he succeeded his father, 'Umar Shaykh, becoming ruler of Farghana as a young boy. His diary continues until 1530, the year of his death, although some parts of it are missing. He makes no mention of his own patronage of manuscripts nor of artists, nor have any miniatures survived from his period. This is hardly surprising as his life was filled with travelling and campaigns, first in his own province of Farghana and in nearby Samarkand, then further afield at Kabul, and finally in India before defeating the Indian army at Panipat in 1526. Immensely interested in everything around him and keenly observant, whether of human nature, or of flora and fauna unfamiliar to him, Bābur has left a fascinating account of his life and campaigns. Kabul, in the vicinity of which he created gardens, and where he is buried, always remained his favourite place. He was fascinated by, and despairing of, India and has described in detail the Indian animals, birds, flowers, plants and trees hitherto unknown to him. During the reign of Akbar (d. 1605) several illustrated copies of his diary, known as the *Bāburnāma*, were made, in which the flora and fauna sections were heavily illustrated by the finest artists of the day (PLATE 36). Although there is no evidence that Bābur himself was a patron, he was interested in books and painting as well as being a poet, and has left a detailed account of Herat and the court of Sultan Husayn, writing that during the reign of the latter, Khurasan, and particularly Herat, was full of 'learned and matchless men'.⁽⁵⁾ Of Bihzād's work he acknowledged that he drew bearded faces very well but he was apt to give the clean-shaven a double chin. Bābur appreciated fine manuscripts sufficiently to take a superb copy of the *Shāhnāma* to India. Produced in Herat in *circa* 1444, it bears inscriptions to Muḥammad Jūkī, a son of Shāhrukh for whom it was produced. The manuscript includes the seals of five Mughal emperors, Bābur, Humāyūn, Jahāngīr, Shāhjahān and Awrangzib. It thus remained in the royal Mughal Library for some two hundred years, eventually being acquired by Charles Joseph Doyle, military secretary to the Marquess of Hastings when he was Governor General of India. Doyle presented it to the Royal Asiatic Society in 1834.⁽⁶⁾ Bābur probably took this manuscript with him when he left Herat in December 1506 and it is remarkable that such a fragile object could survive intact, carried in a box on a pack animal which had to cross deserts and mountain ranges, plunge through snowdrifts, ford rivers, survive extremes of temperature, to say nothing of attacks and ambushes by bandits and enemies, during the journey from Iran, through Afghanistan, to India. In Bābur's memoirs he gives a vivid account of his journey after he left Herat, on 24 December 1506, to travel by way of the mountain road to Kabul. The snow was so deep that men had to trample it until it was firm enough to bear the horses' weight, otherwise they sank belly-deep and could not move. Snow was not the only hazard to manuscripts, for in India in May 1529 there was a violent rainstorm which caused Bābur's tent to fall on top of him and which drenched sections of his diary. Efforts were made to dry the pages by putting them in folds of woollen cloth (rather as blotting paper was used after the 1966 Florence floods) and piling blankets on top. This episode probably accounts for the fact that

the section of the memoirs for 1528-9 is missing.

Bābur died in 1530 and his son and successor, Humāyūn (d. 1556) did not inherit his father's military genius and was forced to go into exile. He, as Iskandar Munshī puts it, 'sought refuge from the vicissitudes of fortune at the court of the Shah'⁽⁷⁾, i.e. Shah Tahmāsp who made him welcome in Iran when he arrived there in 1544. During the year he spent in Iran, Humāyūn visited Tabriz and must have seen the work of the artists, calligraphers and other craftsmen being carried on at the atelier. His visit coincided with the beginning of Tahmāsp's disenchantment with painting, which no doubt made it easier for him to persuade artists and calligraphers to leave Tabriz and enter his service. Besides artists, Humāyūn took manuscripts back to India with him, for Abu'l-Faḍl in the *Akbarnāma*⁽⁸⁾ relates how, after a battle outside Kabul in 1550, he saw two camels wandering unattended. The camels were loaded with boxes, which, when opened, were found to contain the 'royal books' lost three months earlier and 'this was the occasion for a thousand rejoicings'.

Mīr Sayyid 'Alī, who painted the miniature of Majnūn brought in chains to Laylā's tent in the Tahmāsp Nizāmī (Or. 2265) (FIG 43), was one of the Tabriz artists who joined Humāyūn in Kabul, another being 'Abd al-Ṣamad, who was also a fine calligrapher. Both these artists went with Humāyūn when he returned to India in 1556 but they worked for him mainly in Kabul, between 1552 and 1556, when he died, only seven months after getting back to India, as the result of falling down his library steps. Surviving paintings datable to this period, or faithful copies of such paintings, have not yet lost the typical Safavid composition. Activities in pavilions set in a garden or in an encampment in a mountain clearing, layers of rocks rising high up in the background from which a stream flows, winding its way down through flowering plants to the foreground, maintain the Persian elements. The original of a painting of Humāyūn kneeling by an ornate tent, surrounded by courtiers, servants and musicians (FIG 65) in the mountain clearing was probably the work of Mīr Sayyid 'Alī, being very much in his style. This painting is in an album in the British Museum (1974-6-17-010, folio 6) which contains several miniatures and portraits in the Lucknow style of the 18th century. It is probably a version made from an original by a Lucknow artist of the same period for they were extremely competent copyists. The famous painting on cotton, *Princes of the House of Timūr*⁽⁹⁾, in the British Museum (1913-2-8-01) is also in the style of Mīr Sayyid 'Alī. This is an original painting, not a copy, although the figures of Akbar, Jahāngīr and Shāhjahān were later additions. The pavilion set in a tiled courtyard within a garden, with rocks rising up to form a background, and also the preparation of the banquet, are typical details of a Safavid composition. Originally one figure, probably Timūr, in the pavilion, had a row of his descendants kneeling in a semicircle before him.

Mīr Sayyid 'Alī and 'Abd al-Ṣamad continued to work for Akbar who succeeded Humāyūn in 1556. Whereas in Iran the major work required by a royal patron early in his reign was almost invariably a magnificent copy of the *Shāhnāma*, Akbar, in about 1562, commissioned gigantic paintings to illustrate the *Hamzanāma*. Hamza, uncle of the Prophet Muḥammad, was one of the warrior heroes of early Islamic history but the tales and legends in the *Hamzanāma* are mostly fanciful and often fantastic,



FIG. 65 Humāyūn in a mountain clearing
Album. 31.7 × 21.3 cm. Mughal, 18th-century
copy of an original of circa 1553.
British Museum, 1974-6-17-010(6)

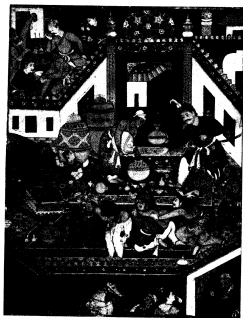


FIG. 66 Drunken scene
Detached miniature from the *Hamzanāma* by Hamza ibn
'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. 67.5 × 51.5 cm. Mughal, 16th century.
British Museum, 1948-10-9-065

stretching the artists' imagination and techniques to the limit. Only just over one hundred of these paintings have survived, of which sixty-one are in the Museum of Applied Arts in Vienna and the remainder scattered about in various public and private collections (FIG. 66). The Vienna paintings were published in facsimile in 1974⁽¹⁰⁾. The *Hamzanāma*, which took fifteen years to complete, originally consisted of over a thousand paintings, each measuring some 68 × 52 centimetres. The illustrations were painted on cotton, the lines of descriptive text being written on the same side of a few of the earlier pictures but on paper which was pasted on the back of most of them. Some of the *Hamzanāma* paintings are creased, flaked or deliberately damaged but the fact that they were painted on cotton probably accounts for the survival of at least a few of them. C. Stanley Clarke⁽¹¹⁾ writing of twenty-four of those in the Victoria and Albert Museum, which were purchased at Srinagar in Kashmir in 1881, relates their discovery by Sir Purdon Clarke. They were found in one of the huts on the Hava Kadal Bridge over the River Jhelum, several having to be

detached from the lattice windows of the curiosity shop to which they had been pasted as draught-excluders the previous winter.

The Vienna paintings are fully representative of both style and subjects of the whole work and show very clearly the almost purely Safavid Persian character of the earliest illustrations which are, no doubt, the work of Mir Sayyid 'Alī, 'Abd al-Šamad and other artists originating from Iran. The first two (facsimiles V1 and V2), of a garden pavilion in a courtyard, include the usual stylised landscape with cypress trees and a meandering stream lined by banks of flowering plants, beyond red railings. The architecture, throne, faces, and tiled courtyard, with its pool and water channel, are typical of Safavid paintings. After the first few, the paintings become more and more Indianised while European influence becomes apparent in the use of perspective and shading. Details synonymous with Mughal painting such as beautifully-drawn elephants, peacocks on rooftops and Indian musical instruments soon make their appearance, while landscapes and the trees, plants, birds and animals within them, become increasingly naturalistic. Certain Persian elements remained, particularly the style of the illuminated designs within the paintings, including the extensive use of flowers in the arabesques which was a Tabriz characteristic and which occurs on textiles, shields, canopies, architecture and carpets. Another kind of decorative illumination associated with the Tabriz academy is the arabesque design incorporating large peony flowers painted in gold on a blue background. Examples occur in the Tabriz albums in Istanbul, particularly in the Topkapı Sarayı Tahmāsp album (Hazine 2161, folio 40a). This same design of gold peonies on blue is included in two of the Vienna paintings, decorating a dome (V.52) and a sail (V.14).

In the *Hamzanāma*, too, there is a scene in which men on horseback are entering a castle through a large gateway (V.8). This detail, of men riding out of the gate and crossing the bridge over a moat, either in battle scenes or during preparations for hunting, often occurs in later imperial Mughal manuscripts. This is an unusual feature in Persian miniatures but it does occur in the Royal Asiatic Society *Shāhnāma* of circa 1444 (folio 394a), in which Qubād rides out of the castle to freedom, and it is significant that this manuscript had been in the imperial Mughal Library for many years and may have inspired Akbar's artists.

Besides the more conventional battle, court or even drunken scenes (FIG 66), the *Hamzanāma* artists have provided incredible paintings of demons and of the giant Zumurand Shah who is the hero of an incident in which he and his men fly through the clouds on enormous jugs, avoiding minarets (V.38) on their way. In others men are mounted on tigers, lions and wolves (V.50) or on a rhinoceros (V.34 and 56), or are flayed alive or pushed into wells.

A controversial manuscript of the *Gulistan* of Sa'di in the British Library, for all the various theories as to how and when it reached the Mughal Library, is to some extent still wrapped in mystery. It contains four miniatures, each bearing an inscription below the paintings, giving the name of the artist as Shaḥm, and two others from which the inscription has probably been cut off. Library staff, who were usually responsible for adding the names of artists, were notoriously careless about their dots and the name could be Shakhm or Shaykhm rather than Shaḥm, although all three are

somewhat peculiar. These six paintings are in a Persian Bukhara style, in which the costume is Indian and in two of which (folio 30a and 91a), in true Bukhara tradition, there are dedications on the buildings – both to the Emperor Akbar. The colophon bears the date 975/1567–8 and gives the scribe's name Mir 'Alī al-Husaynī *al-kātib al-sultānī* and the place of copying as Bukhara. In 1567–8 the ruler of Bukhara was 'Abd Allah ibn Iskandar Khān Uzbek who ruled for a long period until 1598, having succeeded 'Abd al-'Azīz Khān in 1557. Both were patrons of book production at Bukhara and it is possible that when Shāḥm went to India, he took manuscripts with him which were not illustrated. The miniatures were undoubtedly painted by him in India because a king is painted in the likeness of the Emperor Akbar. Seven other paintings in this manuscript were added during the reign of Jahāngīr. Michael Rogers has pointed out some peculiarities in the dedications to Akbar within the two miniatures mentioned above, which would imply that they were added in India, for Bukhara inscriptions are impeccable. Another interesting fact is that all the borders surrounding the text bear a Mughal design incorporating flowers. One is unfinished but as it is on the verso of the '*uncvān*' page (folio 1a) the artist responsible for the borders may not have had it back in time to complete it, if the '*uncvān*' illuminator spent much time on his heading. One of the miniatures, which includes a dedication to, and a likeness of, Akbar (folio 30a), illustrates the story of an old wrestler who knew three hundred and sixty tricks but who withheld the secret of one of them from his increasingly arrogant young pupil. When the young man attempted to prove his superiority during a wrestling bout in front of a king, the old man defeated him by the secret hold (PLATE 34). The landscape in which plants with long-stemmed flowers are dotted about, and the beautiful canopy, carpet and textile designs are typical of Bukhara work. The influence of this style, particularly in the landscape, is seen again in a sub-Imperial Mughal manuscript of the *Zafarnāma* (Or. 1052), dated 1600–1 (PLATE 41).

A miniature in a very similar style to that of the 'Shāḥm' paintings occurs in the 1570 *Amr-i Suhaylī* in the School of Oriental and African Studies in London and is probably the work of the same artist. A manuscript of the *Bustān* of Sa'dī in the Hofer Collection in Cambridge, Massachusetts, which is dedicated to 'Abd al-'Azīz, contains a note about its acquisition by Jahāngīr and the fact that he ordered three paintings to be added to it. It also contains two miniatures in the Bukhara style⁽¹²⁾. Another manuscript, of the *Rawzat al-Muhibbin*, which is dedicated to 'Abd al-'Azīz, is dated 956/1549 and has miniatures attributed to 'Shāḥm'. It is in Hyderabad⁽¹³⁾ and is about to be published and may throw further light on this artist and, not least, his correct name.

Because of its policy of not acquiring single miniatures, the British Library has none of the *Ḥamzanāma* paintings but it does include one manuscript of the earlier Akbar period. After Mir Sayyid 'Alī left India in 1571–2, 'Abd al-Ḥamad became head of the library, continuing the supervision of the production of the *Ḥamzanāma* paintings but eventually, after about 1577, was given administrative posts. Keenly interested in all aspects of book production, Akbar appreciated the skills of artists and calligraphers who were attracted to his court from all parts of India and from Iran.

Like other Mughal emperors, Akbar wanted a record made of events during his reign, as well as an account of the organisation of his court and government. In the *Ā'in-i Akbarī* (Institutes of Akbar) Abu'l-Faẓl has left a fascinating account of the organisation of the library and of the particular works that interested Akbar. Reputedly illiterate, he was read to every day, marking the place himself where the readers stopped. Persian (Fārsī) was the court language of India and, besides works already in that language, Akbar had translations made of classical Hindu works from the Sanskrit and from Hindi. Arabic and Greek works were also translated as were the memoirs of his grandfather Bābur, from the original Turki.

Abu'l-Faẓl⁽¹⁴⁾ records that Akbar inspected all the works of the artists each week, giving rewards according to the quality of the paintings. Of the manuscripts copied for Akbar and illustrated by his court artists, the British Library has some splendid examples including the *Dārābnāma* (Or. 4615), the *Khamṣa* of Nizāmī (Or. 12208), the *Akbarnāma* (Or. 12988) and the *Bāburnāma* (Or. 3714).

The earliest of these four manuscripts, the *Dārābnāma*, is, in spite of the fact that it contains one hundred and fifty-seven miniatures, only a fragment of the complete work and is unfortunately lacking a colophon. Many of the miniatures bear attributions, some to well-known artists listed by Abu'l-Faẓl as masters, such as Mādihū, Khem Karan, Tārā and Sanvlah. The miniatures in this manuscript, which probably dates from *circa* 1580, show early instances of the detailed landscapes, probably derived from Flemish engravings, which are such a feature of Mughal miniatures in the 1590s. In the miniature (PLATE 35) in which Shāpūr is in distress at having found his house ransacked, the landscape with trees and a mountain, up which a tiny figure holding a spear wends his way, is very far removed in style from the *Hamzanāma* and from the main part of the painting. The artist, Sarvān, whose work appears in the Cleveland *Tūtināma* (folio 67a) is discussed by Pramod Chandra⁽¹⁵⁾. Very few paintings attributed solely to him are known, three of them being in this manuscript of the *Dārābnāma*. With flask and money bag tipped over and various belongings scattered about, the scene vividly conveys the misery of discovering a burglary from which the shock suffered by the owner is equally as great today as it was some four centuries ago, in similar circumstances. The *Dārābnāma* is a work in which the leading names have been borrowed from the *Shāhnāma* but, like the *Hamzanāma* before it, is mostly pure romance. Among the artists working on the manuscript was Mādihū, another of those who went on to work for Jahāngir and whose work is represented in the latter's copy of the *Ancār-i Suhaylī* (PLATE 39). Mādihū also worked, jointly with other artists, on two paintings in the British Library's *Akbarnāma* (Or. 12988, folios 114a and 128a). Another interesting fact about the *Dārābnāma* is that one of the paintings (folio 103b) bears an attribution to Bihzād, son of 'Abd al-Šamad, with a note that the latter corrected the painting. This must be one of the earliest examples of Bihzād's paintings, under the close supervision of his father 'Abd al-Šamad who, in giving him the name Bihzād, must always have hoped his son would follow his own profession. Although 'Abd al-Šamad worked as an artist as well as a calligrapher, he was increasingly given other duties, partly because he was a good administrator and, it has been suggested, partly because Akbar preferred a more

robust approach than that of his romanticised Persian style of painting. For all that, 'Abd al-Šamad continued painting, as he contributed the illustration of Khusrāw hunting to the British Library 1595 *Khamṣa* of Niẓāmī (Or. 12208, folio 82a).

The text of the *Dārābnāma*, in common with other Mughal manuscripts produced soon after the completion of the *Hamzanāma* in *circa* 1577, takes up the centre of the page with the miniatures painted round it. The Mughal style was well and truly established by 1580 and Persian influence is not apparent in these paintings except in the arabesque designs on carpets in the earlier miniatures, and in the shape and colours of the rocks forming a background to many of the miniatures. In the painting 'corrected by 'Abd al-Šamad' (folio 103b), the dreary, muddy greens and blues which were favoured by him for painting rock formations are also used by him in the hunting scene in the 1595 Niẓāmī. Miniatures in the *Dārābnāma* vary greatly in quality, with some lovely paintings by masters such as Basawān, Bhura, Nānhā, Jagannāth, Sanvlah, and Narāyan and two quite dreadful miniatures (folios 68 and 107b) by Ibrāhīm Lahorī whose work, not surprisingly, is otherwise unknown. Akbar, who was himself a pupil of both Mir Sayyid 'Alī and 'Abd al-Šamad when he was a boy and who inspected his artists' work weekly, would be unlikely to retain anyone in his studios who painted so badly.

The British Library is fortunate in having a range of manuscripts in the collection which reflect Akbar's taste. The *Dārābnāma* (Or. 4615), somewhat on the lines of the *Hamzanāma*, is a fictionalised account of real people and fantastic occurrences while the *Bāburnāma* (Or. 3714), copied *circa* 1590, is a straightforward translation from Turki into Persian of the memoirs of Akbar's grandfather, the first of the Mughal emperors. The *Razm-nāma* (Or. 12076) is a Persian translation of part of the Hindu epic, the *Mahābhārata*, which, with other Hindu classical works, Akbar had translated into Persian. The *Akbarnāma* (Or. 12988), dated 1603-4, is the first part of the history of his own life and forebears, going back to Adam, commissioned by Akbar, the second volume of this work being in the Chester Beatty Library (Ind. 3). Of the numerous Persian classics copied and illustrated at Akbar's atelier, the British Library has the superb *Khamṣa* of Niẓāmī dated 1595 which was bequeathed by Mr Dyson Perrins. Taking these manuscripts in chronological order, the earliest after the *Dārābnāma* is the manuscript of the memoirs of Bābur. Of the four known illustrated copies produced for Akbar, this (Or. 3714), of *circa* 1490, is considered by Ellen Smart to be the second in order of copying⁽¹⁶⁾. Dr Smart has done splendid research work in sorting out chronologically the many detached miniatures, scattered about in collections and still turning up in sales, from copies of the *Bāburnāma*, and has been able to allot them to one or other of the manuscripts. During her work she discovered that the paintings in Moscow and those in the Walters Art Gallery were from one and the same copy, the third in the sequence.

Many of the artists who worked on the *Dārābnāma* are represented in the British Library's *Bāburnāma* (Or. 3714), including Sanvlah, Nānhā, Jagannāth and Sarvān, together with Maṅṣūr whose name is associated with paintings of animals and birds. He was also a fine illuminator, his minute signature, appearing at the foot of a panel below the lovely '*uncān*' in the 1593-4 *Akbarnāma* (Or. 12988) (FIG 76), being first

seen by Hans-Caspar Graf von Bothmer and missed by the one in the British Library who should have noticed it, to her chagrin.

The paintings of the Indian bustard and the florican (folio 389a) (PLATE 36) are probably early examples of the work of Manṣūr. Six paintings of birds in this manuscript of the *Bāburnāma* are also his work, comprising four different partridges, a jungle fowl and a quail, the rest of the animals and birds being painted by other artists. Manṣūr was a pastmaster at depicting the character of the birds and animals he painted, and came into his own under the patronage of Jahāngīr whose interest in, and love of, nature made him demand paintings of any unusual or exceptionally beautiful creature that came his way.

The work of Manṣūr, besides his illuminated 'uncwān (folio 2b) (FIG 76) in the 1603-4 *Akbarnāma* (Or. 12988), is also represented by full-page miniatures. The attributions give him as the sole artist in three (35b, 110b, 112a) and in collaboration with Narsingh (who painted the principal portraits) in another (110a). In the earliest (folio 35b), as in the *Bāburnāma*, he is given as Manṣūr Naqqāsh (Manṣūr the artist) but in two of the others (110a and 110b) he is Ustād Manṣūr ('Master' Manṣūr), signifying recognition of his fine paintings. The work of Akbar's greatest artists is represented in the *Akbarnāma*, amongst them Miskina, who painted the scene of Humāyūn restoring the baggage of a plundered caravan to its owners during the 1547 siege of Kabul (PLATE 37) which took place when Humāyūn was still in exile. This painting is representative of the finest work of Akbar's academy by one of his leading artists. Miskina enjoyed painting crowded active scenes, such as this (PLATE 37), in which the chief merchants are conveying their gratitude to the enthroned Humāyūn while, in the foreground, their men begin to collect the boxes and bales for loading on to the waiting camels, as the talleyman, in the background, checks his list. Miskina's earliest known work occurs in the *Dārābnāma* (Or. 4615, folio 100b)⁽¹⁷⁾, probably painted under the supervision of his father, Māhesh, who contributed four illustrations to the same manuscript. Miskina also painted a lovely version of Noah's Ark (Freer Gallery of Art, 48-8), published by S. Cary Welch in his *Imperial Mughal Painting*⁽¹⁸⁾, a book which also includes two good reproductions of miniatures from the *Dārābnāma*. One of these is the spectacular painting of Bahman and his horse being swallowed by a dragon (folio 3b) which is reminiscent of some of the most powerful *Hamzanāma* subjects, while the other by Basawān (folio 34a) includes a detail, that of a foreshortened view of a man bailing water from a boat, which may have been borrowed from a European painting. The figure must have appealed to Basawān as he introduces it again in a miniature from the now dispersed *Bāburnāma* of circa 1589⁽¹⁹⁾, of which he drew the outline of a double-page composition of Bābur meeting his cousins on the banks of the Oxus and which was completed by Narsingh. Basawān is not represented by any paintings in the 1495 *Khamsa* of Niẓāmī (Or. 12208), a manuscript which represents Akbar's academy at the peak of its achievement. A section of this beautiful manuscript is in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore and consists of thirty-nine folios including five miniatures⁽²⁰⁾. The folios include part of the poem of *Khusraw u Shirin* and of the *Iskandarnāma*. The British Library manuscript, containing one double-page and thirty-seven single miniatures, is an

MUGHAL INDIA



PLATE 34. The old wrestler defeating a young opponent. By Shahm
Gulistan of Sa'di. 26.7 x 15.4 cm. Bukhara/Mughal, 1567-8. Or. 5302 (30a)



PLATE 35 Shāpūr discovering his room ransacked. By Sarvān
Durr-i-Nāma by Abū Ṭāhir Ṭārāsūsī. 32 × 19 cm. Mughal. circa 1580. Or. 4615 (37a)

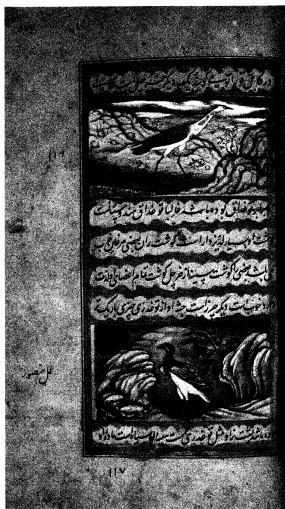


PLATE 36 Indian bustard (top); Florican (below). Both paintings by Manṣūr *Bāḥar-nāma*. 5.5 × 10.3 cm (both paintings). Mughal, *circa* 1590. Or. 3714 (389a)



PLATE 37 Humayūn restoring baggage to the owners of a plundered caravan. By Miskīna Akbarnāma by Abū'l-Faḡl ibn Muḃārak. 21 × 12.3 cm. Mughal, 1603-4. Or. 12988 (120b)



PLATE 38 Khusrāw's war-elephant seizing Bahrām Chūbin. By Manohar
Khamsa of Nizami. 15.8 × 12.5 cm. Mughal, 1595. Or. 12208 (72a)



PLATE 39. The washerman capturing a crane. By Mādhū
Amār-i Suhaylī by Husayn Vā'iz. 13.5 × 7 cm. Mughal, 1604 and 1610–11.
 Add. 18579 (350b)

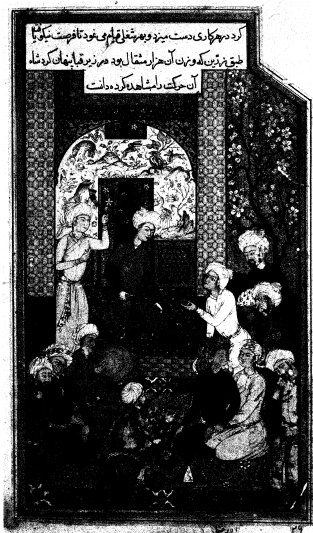


PLATE 40 A young king with his companions. By Āqā Rīzā
Amīr-i Suhaylī by Ḥusayn Vāʿiz. 15.7 × 9 cm. Mughal, 1604 and 1610–11.
Add. 18579 (331 b)



PLATE 41 Timur greeting his grandson Pir Muhammad at Multan
Zafarnama by Sharaf al-Din 'Ali Yazdi. 26 x 16.2 cm. Provincial Mughal,
 Ahmadabad, 1600-1. Or. 1052 (1919)



PLATE 42 A white lion paying homage to 'Alī. By 'Abd al-Hakīm Multānī
Khavaran-nāma by Muḥammad ibn Husām. 24.3 × 22 cm. Panjabi, 1696.
 Add. 19766 (288a)

MUGHAL INDIA

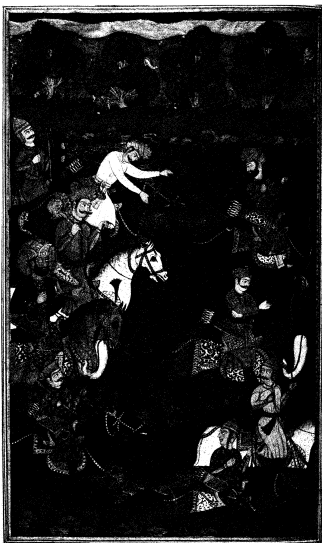


PLATE 43 Alexander the Great pursuing Darius across the Euphrates
Shāhnāma of Firdawsi. 27.5 cm × 15.7 cm. Rajaur, Kashmir, 1719. Add. 18804 (97a)

interesting combination of both Persian and European influences, the former in the decoration of the pages, the latter within the paintings. The border paintings, with their designs of animals, are in the tradition of Persian Safavid work although indigenous flora and fauna have replaced the Persian varieties. Illumination, whether of headings or to denote divisions between poems (PLATE 46) or within the paintings, such as the protective rug on an elephant (PLATE 38), is of superb quality and, together with the border decorations, has been discussed in the relevant section. European influence is particularly strong in these paintings, both in the landscapes and also in the copies of European paintings which occur within the miniatures. These are included in the illustration, by Miskīna, of the two contending physicians (folio 23b) and also on an organ played by Plato (folio 298a) to charm the wild animals. Unfortunately the artist, Mādhū, must have used dead creatures as his models for the hypnotised animals, which is understandable, for they include lions, tigers, wolves and so on, but it does make a rather grim painting. In this legend, as related by Nizāmī, Plato, one of the seven sages who were advisers to Alexander the Great, was angered because he was not included in a learned discussion, so went away by himself to demonstrate his unique power over animals. As a compliment to his royal patron Mādhū has painted an organ which had been brought to Akbar's court from Italy and which had panels decorated with Italian paintings.

Manohar, who painted the vivid scene of the battle between Khusraw and Bahrām Chubīn (PLATE 38), was a son of Basawān whose work is represented in the British Library *Dārābnāma*. Manohar himself contributed a painting to the *Bāburnāma* (Or. 3714, folio 283a) of Bābur hunting, and two to the *Ābbārnāma* of 1603-4 (folios 32a and 129a). The first of these illustrates an unusual subject, that in which the body of Chingīz Khān was carried in a box through the countryside. News of his death was to be kept secret and all onlookers were put to death. Manohar, like his father Basawān, was interested in copying European prints and their influence is apparent in the landscape with its small figures which forms the background to the Nizāmī miniature in which the ferocious war-elephant dominates the foreground battle scene.

By 1585, Akbar had moved from Fatehpur Sikri to Lahore, and the latter city remained his capital until he went to Agra in 1598, where he stayed until his death in 1605. His son and heir, Jahāngīr, who was known as Šalīm before his accession, fell out with his father in 1599 and moved to Allahabad where he remained until 1604. He set up a studio at Allahabad and some artists, who had previously been on Akbar's staff, moved there to work under his patronage. A copy of the *Anwār-i Suhaylī* (Add. 18579) appears to have been started before Jahāngīr's accession in 1605, for two inscriptions mention his earlier name Šalīm, one of them (folio 36a), by Muḥammad Rizā, giving the date 1013/1604 while the colophon itself gives the date of completion as 1610-11. Jahāngīr appeared to favour the more romantic Persian style as practised by the artist Āqā Rizā (PLATE 40) (not to be confused with the artist Āqā Rizā/Rizā 'Abbāsī who worked at Isfahan). Milo Beach has discussed Āqā Rizā at some length⁽²¹⁾. The artist must have been in India by the early 1580s as his son Abu'l-Hasan was born there. The latter, together with Maṣnūr, received the highest

praise from Jahāngīr in his memoirs⁽²²⁾, rather to the detriment of Āqā Rīzā. The *Ancār-i Suhaylī*, a version of the fables of Bidpāy, was always a popular work for copying and illustrating, as was the original *Kalīla wa Dimna* in the Arabic and Persian versions. Full of amusing, if somewhat improving, fables and tales which usually involved animals, it was an ideal vehicle for the Mughal artist. Amongst those who had previously worked for Akbar, Mādhū has one painting (folio 350b) (PLATE 39), illustrating the story of the crane which, trying to emulate the hunting skill of a falcon, fell into the mud of the river and was seized by the washerman. Comparison of this miniature by the Indian Mughal artist with another by the imported Persian painter, Āqā Rīzā, (folio 331b) (PLATE 40), admirably demonstrates the difference between the schools of painting. Āqā Rīzā's work is similar to that of the late 16th-century school of Mashhad (from whence he is thought to have come to India) with its romanticised, languid and elongated figures, use of strong colours and typically Persian wall-paintings.

By the time of his death in 1605, Akbar's interest in the production of splendid manuscripts had waned in preference to portraiture which gained in popularity in succeeding reigns. Portraits of courtiers, nobles and officials were gathered together in albums, and although very few of these paintings have survived from the Akbar period, there are many from the following years. Jahāngīr preferred single paintings, whether of his entourage, of animals and birds or of flowers from his beloved Kashmir. He described Kashmir as a 'garden of perpetual spring' giving a lyrical account^{(23), (24), (25)} of its climate, plants and fruit. He commissioned Maṣṣūr to paint a hundred Kashmiri flowers but none of the paintings has survived, although bird and animal studies by the same artist are famous. Jahāngīr gives a delightful account of his first sight of a turkey cock which he ordered Maṣṣūr to paint (the picture is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum): '... it spreads out its features like a peacock and dances about... like a chameleon it constantly changes colour'. He had a monument erected over the grave of his favourite antelope (black buck?) which was unequalled in fights and as a decoy animal. The well-being of his working animals was obviously of importance to him, for he noticed that cold water made his elephants shiver in winter and ordered that it should be made lukewarm (the temperature of milk) and says 'they were delighted', adding 'this usage was entirely my own'⁽²⁶⁾. Jahāngīr comments on the descriptions given by his great-grandfather of Indian flora and fauna, and expresses regret that Bābur never had pictures made of them, a fact which no doubt accounts for Jahāngīr's determination that his artists should record the unusual and the prized. Jahāngīr's memoirs are as fascinating as those of Bābur. He was astonished by the markings of a zebra ('one might say the painter of fate, with a strange brush had left it on the page of the world') which he included among gifts sent to Shah 'Abbās. Maṣṣūr's painting of this zebra (also in the Victoria and Albert Museum) has an inscription which includes the date 1621, stating it had been brought from Abyssinia.

Jahāngīr's obsession with the pictorial recording of unusual events and personalities, both human and animal, stretched as far as Iran as he sent the artist Bishndās with his ambassador⁽²⁷⁾ Khān 'Ālam in 1617, to 'take the portraits of the

Shah (i.e. Shah 'Abbās I) and the chief men of his State and bring them [back]⁽²⁸⁾. The zebra must have been a gift sent on one of the later embassies. Shah 'Abbās, not to be outdone, ordered Rīzā 'Abbāsī to record the meeting and the resulting portraits of the Shah and the ambassador (reproduced by Robinson) are remarkably similar as portraits, though totally different in styles, i.e. Mughal and Isfahan.

In an article⁽²⁹⁾, Clara Edwards has quoted eye-witness accounts of various embassies to India, particularly that of the Italian, della Valle, who witnessed the presentation of gifts to Shah 'Abbās at Qazvin, including those brought from Jahāngīr by Khān 'Ālam. In June 1619 Shah 'Abbās returned to his capital, Isfahan, and arranged for the ambassadors of India, Russia and Turkey to make a ceremonious entry and Khān 'Ālam mounted an ostentatious procession which took until evening to pass through the city gates. Khān 'Ālam offended Shah 'Abbās by lack of appreciation of the sixty thousand men who lined the twelve miles of road between Dowlatabad, where the ambassadors had stayed, and Isfahan, and during the display of illuminations that night in the *maydān* (Square). Shah 'Abbās teased Khān 'Ālam. He kept slapping him on the back which della Valle said must have annoyed the ambassador and 'since he was fat ... and wore a simple and very thin white robe, doubtless hurt him very much.'

Shāhjahān, who succeeded Jahāngīr in 1627 and who was to be deposed and imprisoned in 1658, was more interested in buildings than manuscripts, and in single paintings and portraits than in book illustrations. However, he did commission an illustrated history of his own reign, the *Pādashāhnāma*⁽³⁰⁾, now in the Royal Library, Windsor Castle. Like Jahāngīr before him, he commissioned many portraits of himself and of his courtiers and officials. These and other paintings were collected into albums (*muragga*'), the pictures alternating with pages of fine calligraphy. By the early 17th century albums were also very much in vogue in Iran and Ottoman Turkey, but in Iran they never superseded finely illustrated manuscripts in the way they did at the Mughal court.

Also in India, as in Iran and in Ottoman Turkey, manuscript production was in no way confined to the royal patrons. Among sub-Imperial Mughal manuscripts in the British Library are two from Ahmadabad which were produced in the early 17th century, when Mīrzā Koka was governor there. Of these, two bear the same date (1009/1600-1) one being a copy of the *Ancār-i Suhaylī* (Or. 6317), giving the place as Ahmadabad, the other a manuscript of the *Zafarnāma* (Book of Victory), (Or. 1052) (PLATE 41), in the same format and style. Yet another manuscript, of the *Gulistān* (Or. 13942) (FIG 67), can be dated to *circa* 1605, probably executed at the capital Agra for one of Jahāngīr's noblemen, either just before, or just after, that emperor's accession, which took place in 1605.

The *Zafarnāma* dated 1009/1600-1, because of its subject matter, contains miniatures which appear more sumptuous, active and crowded than those illustrating the animals and birds that figure in the *Ancār-i Suhaylī*⁽³¹⁾. However, the same production team, apart from the scribe, appears to have worked on both. Format, paper, the ruled lines of different colours enclosing the paintings, and some aspects of the latter, are identical in both manuscripts. The artists of the miniatures appear to

have been influenced by Persian Bukhara work which was predominant in the paintings by 'Shahm' in the 1567-8 *Gulistan* (PLATE 34). The illuminated '*umwān*' at the beginning of the *Zafarnāma* (folio 1b) is a direct descendant of designs prevalent, first in Herat manuscripts of the late 15th century (PLATE 45) and then, in much the same form, in Bukhara work of the 16th century. As demonstrated by the 'Shahm' paintings, Bukhara artists were working in India and they, or those influenced by Bukhara painting, were more likely to be employed by lesser patrons than the emperor, as Akbar did not care for the romanticised style. The landscapes in the miniatures in the *Zafarnāma* have reverted to the Persian convention of flowering plants dotted about on a plain background, instead of the naturalistic Mughal style. The indeterminate flowering trees rising above the pavilion and the ubiquitous cypress are far removed from the careful studies of mango, banyan, plantain, pipal and other indigenous Indian trees in Imperial Mughal compositions.

The rock formations are pale pink, green or mauve, also in the tradition of earlier Persian work which lingered on into provincial manuscripts of the 18th century. The last painting in the *Zafarnāma* (folio 307a)⁽³²⁾, of Tīmūr being entertained at his *kuriltay* (gathering of the tribes) near Samarkand, is also a mixture of Indian and Iranian elements. In the foreground a state elephant, in all its trappings, is accompanied by two younger animals which are being trained for state occasions. One is ridden and the other, obviously only a baby, is being led by an attendant. Two magnificent gold lions are set before the throne, and dancers and musicians entertain the assembly. The miniature of Pīr Muḥammad paying homage to his grandfather, (folio 191a) (PLATE 41), at Multan illustrates an incident in 1398 when soldiers used oxen as mounts after their horses had been killed in battle.

This pair of manuscripts, of identical date, sheds interesting light on the kind of work being produced outside the great atelier of the Mughal emperors. Persianised and somewhat unsophisticated, the miniatures are by lesser artists who either moved from the royal studios or were directly employed by patrons, who were either high officials attached to the court or governors of provinces living in cities outside the capital. A clue to the date and provenance of another sub-Imperial Mughal manuscript in the British Library, a copy of the *Gulistan*, (Or. 13942), is a miniature (folio 278a) in which a king is drawn in the likeness of Jahāngīr. In all portraits Mughal emperors are invariably haloed, and as Jahāngīr has not been honoured in this way, the painting may date from *circa* 1604, before his accession and when he was still known as Prince Ṣalīm, but after he had returned to Agra from Allahabad. The miniatures, which bear no attributions, have reverted to the format of earlier manuscripts whereby they are surrounded by text and take up about a third of the page. This is in contrast to the 1600-1 Ahmadabad *Zafarnāma* in which all the paintings are full-page. The style of the miniatures in the *Gulistan* reflects that of the Mughal court, although several different artists have contributed paintings. Persian elements are no more apparent in these miniatures than they are in those of the later Akbar period; in fact, there is strong European influence, particularly in the costume in the illustration to the tale of the foreigner who is relating his adventures to a devout man (folio 254a) (FIG 67).



FIG. 67 A devout man in conversation with a traveller
Gulistan of Sa'di, 7 x 10 cm. Sub-imperial Mughal, Agra(?), circa 1605. Or. 13942 (2542)

Shāhjahān died in 1666 having been deposed in 1658 by his son Awrangzīb (d. 1707), an orthodox Muslim who had no interest in painting. Patronage did, however, continue at provincial centres and the British Library includes manuscripts in its collections which demonstrate the high standard of production and the versatility of the artists. One of these manuscripts is a copy of the *Khāvarānnāma* which is yet another of the romantic poems in which historical figures are surrounded by myth, legend and pure fantasy. This time it is 'Alī, son-in-law of the Prophet Muḥammad, who, armed with his double-bladed sword, *Zu'l-faqr*, and mounted on his grey mule, Duldul, performs incredible deeds of daring against the king of Khāvarān and a variety of other enemies. Originally composed in 1426-7 by Muḥammad ibn Husām al-Dīn (d. 1470), the *Khāvarānnāma* was written in imitation of the *Shāhnāma* for which the author expresses his admiration. The subjects illustrated vie with those of the *Hamzanāma*, involving fights with dragons of every shape and size, the inevitable giant, a herd of rhinoceros, demons of splendid aspect as well as armies of sorcerers and huge ants. Bowls of poison, vats of boiling blood, tigers, a pit of snakes lit up by a magic crystal and a huge white lion (PLATE 42) are additional hazards to be overcome while talismanic figures include polo players in the

Golden City, a black demon, reptiles and musicians. Most of the enemies were overcome by force but the huge white lion lying in the path of 'Alī's army was persuaded by sweet reason to go elsewhere, although in the miniature (folio 288a) (PLATE 42) 'Alī is depicted raising his sword as the lion bows down before him.

Although the name of the patron who commissioned this splendid manuscript is not given, both scribe and artist, Mūlchand and 'Abd al-Hakīm respectively, add Multānī to their names which indicates a provenance of the city of Multan in the Punjab⁽³³⁾. The manuscript, which has over one hundred and fifty miniatures, must have been produced for a wealthy patron. Gold is lavishly used throughout, not only within almost every painting, but in the panels which divide the verses into four columns on every page of text. The miniatures are Persianised, both in composition and in detail, especially costume which includes Safavid turbans complete with batons. The miniatures may have been inspired by an illustrated Persian manuscript of the *Shāhnāma*, as 'Alī is given a lion-head decoration on his helmet, similar to that worn by Rustam, and there is a garden scene worthy of any Persian artist⁽³⁴⁾. Although compositions and details may be derived, the subjects are treated with an originality and verve, second to none. Compared to Safavid miniatures, the colour scheme, apart from the flashy use of gold, is somewhat dull. There is no lapis lazuli, for which indigo is substituted, and the other primary colours, together with purple, orange and green which form the remainder of the range, completely lack the glowing jewel-like qualities of the mineral pigments used in Persian painting. The opulence and glitter is provided by gold and silver, the latter, surprisingly, in many instances not rendered black by oxydisation.

Another splendid provincial manuscript (Add. 18804), illustrated in an unusual style, is a copy, dated 1131/1719, of the second half of the *Shāhnāma* beginning with the accession of Luhrāsp. Apart from the style, the subject matter of the miniatures is also interesting because no less than twenty-one out of the ninety-seven illustrate stories concerned with Alexander the Great (Iskandar). For some reason these episodes are usually the least fully illustrated of any of the *Shāhnāma* tales.

The provenance of this manuscript had long been somewhat puzzling. No other paintings in this particular style were known until photographs of similar miniatures, from a privately-owned manuscript, were brought in for identification, and which probably originated from the same studios as the British Library *Shāhnāma* (Add. 18804). Part of the difficulty in establishing the provenance of the latter lay in the fact that, although it included three separate and detailed colophons, these were difficult to decipher, partly because of damage and partly due to the cursive hand in which they were written. Mahmud al-Haq and Professor Hasan Mosanna Nadvi clarified the colophons, and the information which emerged strengthened the theory, already formed from certain details within the miniatures, that these paintings were the forerunners of the later Kashmiri style.

Copied by the same scribe, Khalīl Allāh *haft qalamī* (seven-penned), throughout, a colophon on folio 213a states it was written in the reign of the Emperor Rafī'al-Darajat. This is correct as Farrukhsiyār, who was deposed, died in February 1719, and was succeeded by Rafī' al-Darajat who, himself, died of consumption in May the

same year. The place of copying is given as Rajaur and the patron as Raja 'Azumat Allāh Khān. Fortunately the patron's name pinpoints the particular Rajaur (there were three places in India of that name)⁽³⁵⁾. Also called Rampur, it lies in the modern state of Jammu and Kashmir, on the road to Srinagar from Sialkot via the Pir Panjal pass, the regular route taken by the Mughal emperors when they went to Kashmir. Rajaur served as a posting-station where they used to stay. In his memoirs⁽³⁶⁾ Jahāngir explains that the people 'in old times' were Hindus and the landholders were called Raja, a title they retained after the Muslim conquest, (along with the Hindu custom of suttee), which explains the title of the patron of the 1719 *Shāhnāma*.

Many of the details in the *Shāhnāma* miniatures occur again in the considerably simpler Kashmiri book illustrations of the late 18th and the 19th centuries. These include single ringlets extending down the side of the face, the luxuriant beards, the style of architecture, the thrones and the fountains. The miniatures are sumptuous and include crowded court and battle scenes in which gold is extensively used for textiles, whether turbans or robes. The artist has shown considerable ingenuity in making his illustrations original and often startling⁽³⁷⁾. In the illustration of Alexander talking to the birds (folio 125a) the whole composition is dominated by the gigantic figure of Isrāfil with his trumpet. In another painting Bahrām Gūr and his retinue are dressed entirely in camouflage green (folio 187a) when hunting water-fowl from boats. In another, not only are the bodies of Rustam and his brother Zavāra carried in their funeral procession but also their horses, their eyes tight shut, and still fully harnessed (folio 83b). Horses intended for pulling Isfandiār's protective cart, its wheels set about with swords, are sitting inside the carriage with him as the dragon begins to swallow them (folio 37a). The painting illustrating Alexander the Great, hot on the heels of Darius as they cross the Euphrates, (folio 97a) (PLATE 43) is full of life and character. Alexander on the left, haloed and wearing a crown, is mounted on a magnificent dun horse (flaring nostrils and large limpid eyes are a feature of the horses in this style). One of his men, realising that the gap between the rival soldiers is rapidly closing, has tied his reins to the pommel of his saddle and, urging his horse on, is stretching his arms out to seize one of the enemy. The effect of water is conveyed very successfully by broad curling whorls of silver painted on a dark green background. The style is somewhat influenced by late 16th-century Isfahan painting in details such as the large turbans and the pink, mauve and brown rocks forming the mountains. This manuscript is particularly important as it not only combines Persian and Mughal features, but is a forerunner and an important link in the development of the Kashmiri style of painting. Altogether more simple and naive, the best Kashmiri work dates from the 18th and early 19th centuries but, with the onset of tourism, manuscripts were produced in great numbers on a commercial basis and include paintings which are almost too bad to be true.

Kashmir had a long history of fine arts and crafts for which it became renowned. Zayn al- 'Abidin (d. 1470) who reigned during the Sultanate period, sent Kashmiri craftsmen abroad, particularly to Iran, to learn the arts of the book and the making of textiles and carpets. They also learnt the art of paper-making and of painted lacquer book bindings, and the best 18th- and 19th-century Kashmiri manuscripts are notable

for their thin white strong paper, superb blue and gold illumination and painted lacquered covers. Designs within the manuscripts and on the covers were similar to those on the famous shawls, often incorporating the 'paisley' pattern.

Kashmir came under Mughal rule late in the 16th century and descended to provincial status. Lack of local patrons caused artists and craftsmen, poets and scholars, to migrate to the Mughal court and it was not until after the reign of Awrangzib (d. 1707), and the re-emergence of provincial patrons, that illustrated manuscripts were produced in Kashmir. The style of the miniatures is simple and decadent, even in the best-quality manuscripts, while stylised flowers, in bright pink and blue, were used in border designs and in panels on every page. Miniatures were usually surrounded by text, these pages, too, including the flower borders and panels (PLATE 44). There was much use of red but very little life in the illustrations and there is a dreary monotonous sameness about the Kashmiri compositions which illustrated so many copies of the poems of *Hāfiz*.

Of the illustrated Kashmiri manuscripts in the British Library, four are dated, and of these, one is a copy of *Jāmi's Yūsuf u Zulaykhā* (Add. 7771, dated 1177/1764). Two are copies of the *Dīwān* of *Hāfiz* (Add. 7763, dated 1211/1796-7 and Add. 7764, dated 1215/1801) and the fourth is an anthology (Or. 5599) of 1231/1815. The best Kashmiri manuscript, with a Persian text, in the collection, whether dated or undated, and the finest to include all branches of the art of the book, Kashmiri style, is an undated copy, probably of the early 19th century, of *Hamla-yi Haydarī* by *Bāzil* (Or. 2936), a poetical life of 'Ali (PLATE 44). The superb covers and the blue and gold illumination have been discussed in the relevant sections, while the eighty miniatures are examples of the better Kashmiri painting, a style which seemed to suffer from instant decadence. Comparison of the 1719 Rajaur *Shāhnāma* paintings with the Kashmiri 1764 *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā* (Add. 7771), shows that, even in details common to both, the liveliness and originality of the Rajaur artist's work has made no impact on later Kashmiri painting. In the *Hamla-yi Haydarī* manuscript (Or. 2936), the subjects of the miniatures are far more interesting than their interpretation. They include paintings of the Prophet's letter being read to the Negus of Abyssinia (folio 125a), to Heraclius (folio 126a) (PLATE 44) and to Chosroe of Iran (folio 128a), as well as of various miracles performed by the Prophet and 'Ali. In common with most Kashmiri paintings, both the Prophet and 'Ali are portrayed as flames throughout the manuscript.

In Kashmir and in India, in Turkey and in Iran, in the 19th century, more and more albums and 'miniature paintings' were produced for the ever-increasing number of tourists visiting those countries. 'Bazaar' painting flourished then and, in spite of the ubiquitous camera, still flourishes today.

MUGHAL INDIA

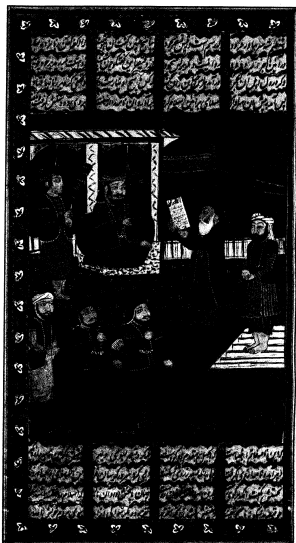


PLATE 44 The Prophet's letter read to Heraclius
Ḥamla-yi Ḥaydarī by Muḥammad Raft̄ Bāzil. 13.7 × 10.8 cm. Kashmiri, 19th
 century. Or. 2936 (126a)

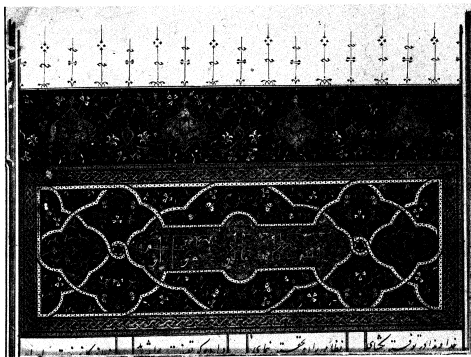


PLATE 45 Illuminated 'wacvā'
Khamisa of Nizāmi. 7.8 × 11.2 cm. Herat, 1494-5. Or. 6810 (30b)

- (1) Tuti-nāma, *Tales of a Parrot*, Commentary by Pramod Chandra, Graz, 1976.
- (2) Beach, Milo C., *The Great Mogul: Imperial Painting in India, 1608-1650*, Williamstown; and *The Imperial Image: Paintings for the Mughal Court*, Washington D.C., 1981.
- (3) J.P. Losty, *The Art of the Book in India*, London, 1982.
- (4) J.V.S. Wilkinson, *Lights of Canopus*, Anvāz-i Suhaili, 1929.
- (5) A.S. Beveridge, *The Baburnāma in English* (Memoirs of Babur), repr. 1969.
- (6) J.V.S. Wilkinson, *The Shāhnāmā of Firdaws: The Book of the Persian Kings*, Oxford, 1931.
- (7) R.M. Savory (trans.), *History of Shāh 'Abbās the Great (Tarikh-i Alamārā-yi 'Abbāsī) by Iskandar Beg Munshi*, 2 Vols. *Persian Heritage Series*, 28, Colorado, 1979.
- (8) H. Beveridge, *The Akbarnāma of Abu'l-Faiz*, Vol. 1, p. 571. *Bibliotheca Indica*, Vol. 138.
- (9) L. Binyon, 'Emperors and Princes of the House of Timur,' *Burlington Magazine* LIV, pp. 16-22.
- (10) *Hamza-nāma*, *Vollständige Wiedergabe der Bekannten Blätter der Handschrift aus den Beständen aller Erreichbaren Sammlungen*, vol. I, Graz, 1974.
- (11) C.S. Clarke, *Indian Drawings: Twelve Mogul Paintings of the School of Hamayūn (16th Century) illustrating the romance of Amir Hamzah*, 1921.
- (12) J.P. Losty, *op. cit.*, p. 67.
- (13) Asok Kumar Das: Bishandas, *Chhavi, Golden Jubilee Volume*, Benares, 1971, pp. 183-191; PLATE 18; figs. 351-363.
- (14) Blochmann, H. (trans.), *The Ā'in-i Akbarī of Abu'l-Faiz i 'allāmī*, *Bibliotheca Indica* Vol. I (fasc. II) p. 107.
- (15) Tuti-nāma, *op. cit.*
- (16) E. Smart, *Paintings from the Baburnāma: a study of 16th-century Mughal historical manuscript illustrations*, Ph.D. thesis, SOAS, London University, 1977.
- (17) N.M. Topley, *Plants and Gardens in Persian, Mughal and Turkish Art*, 1979 (PLATE 12).
- (18) S.C. Welch, *Imperial Mughal Painting*, New York, 1978.
- (19) E.S. Smart, 'Six folios from a dispersed manuscript of the Baburnāma,' *Indian Painting*, Colnaghi, 1978, pp. 111-132.
- (20) S.C. Welch 'The Emperor Akbar's *Khamsa* of Nizāmī,' *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 1960, pp. 86-96.
- (21) C. Milo Beach, *op. cit.*
- (22) *The Tuzak-i Jahāngir or Memoirs of Jahāngir*, trans. by A. Rogers, ed. by H. Beveridge. *Oriental Translation Fund*, N.S. Vol. XXII (P. 20), 1914.
- (23) *Tuzak-i Jahāngir*, Vol. 2, pp. 143-147.
- (24) *ibid.* Vol. 1, p. 215-6.
- (25) *ibid.* pp. 90-91.
- (26) *ibid.* Vol. 1, p. 410.
- (27) B.W. Robinson 'Shah Abbās and the Mughal Ambassador Khan Alam: the pictorial record,' *Burlington Magazine*, vol. CXIV, No. 827, February 1972, pp. 58-63.
- (28) *Tuzak-i Jahāngir*, Vol. II, pp. 116-117.
- (29) C.C. Edwards, 'Relations of Shah Abbas the Great of Persia with the Mogul Emperors, Akbar and Jahāngir,' *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 35 (1915) pp. 247-268.
- (30) J.P. Losty, *op. cit.*, pp. 99-101, PLATE XXXII.
- (31) *ibid.* pp. 121-122.
- (32) N.M. Topley, *op. cit.*, p. 22.
- (33) J.P. Losty *op. cit.*, pp. 108, 133.
- (34) N.M. Topley, *op. cit.*, fig 11.
- (35) J.P. Losty *op. cit.*, pp. 141-5.
- (36) *Tuzak-i Jahāngir*, *ibid.* Vol. 2, pp. 180-181.
- (37) N.M. Topley, *Dragons in Persian, Mughal and Turkish Art*, London, 1981, fig 16.

Methods and materials

Pouncing

Copying miniatures or a section of a composition, apart from the straight-forward system of working direct from an original, was sometimes done by the method known as pouncing. A piece of transparent deerskin would be placed over the subject to be copied and the outline carefully traced on to the skin. The traced outline would then be closely pricked with a fine needle, as can be seen in the sketch of the horseman and lion (FIG 68) which has been traced on to skin. This example of pounced skin, which is in the Topkapı Sarayı Museum Library album, Hazine 2153 (folio 52a), also includes sketched outlines of women and of a tree stump. To complete the copying, the pricked outline would be laid on the paper in the required position and charcoal dabbed on it by means of a mesh bag. The charcoal would penetrate the pin holes, forming an outline to guide the copier, who could then complete the drawing of that part of the composition.

A composition could be made up from pounced details, and figures from miniatures in various manuscripts used according to the copier's whim or inclination; thus it is that a variety of styles, of different schools and periods, may occur throughout one and the same manuscript of, say, the late 16th century. Various styles of earlier periods may even be combined in a single composition, to add to the general confusion.

The artist who pounced the sketch of the horseman and lion (FIG 68) experimented with the position of the forelegs of the horse. The bent off-foreleg appears to have been rejected in favour of an outstretched position, which resulted in the broad-chested horse, with its exaggerated action, seen in Shiraz miniatures of *circa* 1420–35 although artists working in other styles seemed able to paint the animal in a more elegant form. This odd position of a horse's legs occurs in two other sketches (FIGS 69 and 70) which were almost certainly produced by the pouncing of originals. These two sketches demonstrate the way in which the artist, given similar outlines, could vary his final version, for the lion in one has been changed into a leopard in the other. The half-rearing horse, its rider poised with spear, bow or sword, is one of the standard figures in battle and hunting scenes. Horsemen, identical with the pounced and the sketched figures, even including the variation in the position of horses' forelegs, occur in miniatures in all periods of Persian painting, and can be seen in the battle scene (of *circa* 1493) by Bihzād (PLATE 8) which was faithfully copied again in the 16th century Tabriz version (FIG 35).

METHODS AND MATERIALS



FIG 68 Sketch on leather used for copying by the method of 'pouncing'
Album. Persian, 15th century. Topkapı Sarayı, Hazine 2152 (32a)



FIG 69 Practice drawing of a man spearing a lion
Album. Persian, 15th century. Topkapı Sarayı, Hazine 2160

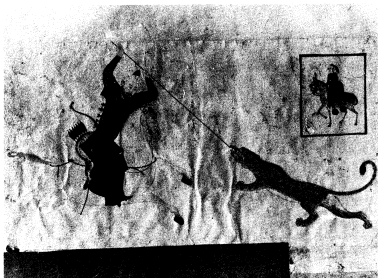


FIG 70 Man spearing a leopard
Album. Persian, 15th century. Topkapı Sarayı, Hazine 2160 (61a)

Copies were sometimes obtained by pricking round groups of figures in a manuscript illustration to make an impression on to the sheet of paper placed beneath it. This form of vandalism has been practised on a miniature in the 1536 Tabriz manuscript of the *Shāhnāma* (Add. 15531). The miniature (folio 119b) of the murder of Siyāvush has stock groups of onlookers which would be very useful to anyone trying to make up a composition. The main characters have not been touched but the bystanders have all been used (FIG 71) and no doubt appeared in various manuscripts of later centuries.

The method of pouncing was used by artists in Mughal India for, besides learning the method from the Persian artists, actual pounced sketches of Persian compositions would have been available in the Mughal studios. For border paintings, stencils were extensively used in Iran, Mughal India and in Turkey, and only the very finest manuscripts would have original designs painted on the borders. Those at the beginning of the *Khamsa* of Nizāmī (Or. 2265) produced in the Tabriz studios are clearly original paintings but towards the end of the manuscript there is a repetition of designs for which stencils would have been used. The most sumptuous manuscripts produced for Akbar had original border designs.



FIG 71 The murder of Siyāvush, Miniature used for 'Pouncing'
Shāhnāma of Firdawsi. 11 × 14 cm. Persian, Tabriz style, 1536. Add. 15531 (119b)

Unfinished paintings

Interesting evidence of artists' methods of working, in the preliminary stages of book illustrations, portraits and animal drawings, is to be found in unfinished miniatures in manuscripts, and also in practice sketches which have been gathered together in Persian and Mughal albums. Most large collections of illustrated Persian manuscripts include some in which miniatures are in various stages of completion. The British Library collections have several, including a Qazvin manuscript (Add. 7776), dated 1596, which has three unfinished miniatures. One of them, a battle scene (folio 50a) (FIG 72), demonstrates that silver (now black through oxydisation) is applied first, in this instance, to helmets, trumpets, swords, saddles and armour. It appears from observation of other unfinished paintings that, if gold is used for the sky, it is put in first and then the plain colours used for landscapes, i.e. mauve, putty, pale green or pink, are added. The body-colour of animals and the red, blue, green or yellow of textiles, whether clothes, standards, canopies or drapes, is added after the gold and silver have been applied. Then come the finishing touches, such as the addition of plants, flowers, clouds, facial details, and harness, and finally the decoration of



FIG 72 Battle scene. Unfinished painting
Mīhr u Muhtārī by 'Aṣṣār. 31 × 18.5 cm. Persian, Qazvin style, 1596. Add. 7776 (50a)

bowcases, quivers, architecture, thrones, saddlecloths and clothes. The unfinished state of paintings in manuscripts sometimes coincides with the death or overthrow of a patron and when there are inscriptions and a colophon giving the patron's name and the date of the completion of writing the text, there is little doubt as to the reason for the uncompleted state of the paintings. One such example is the British Library's *Sharafnāma* (Or. 13836), an Indian Sultanate manuscript, which includes some miniatures which are incomplete. The manuscript was copied in 938/1531-2 for Nusrat Shah, ruler of Bengal, who was murdered in 1532. The painting reproduced from this manuscript (Or. 13836, folio 21b) (PLATE 32) is complete, but others, coming later in the work, are lacking details such as reins on the bridles and the shading of rocks or the colouring of fruit.

Practice sketches

Practice sketches are another source of information concerning artists' methods of preparing compositions. The famous albums in the Topkapı Sarayı Museum Library in Istanbul contain hundreds of examples of sketches. These comprise designs intended for border decorations and book covers as well as sketches of details to be included in miniatures, such as clouds, flowers, trees, warriors, animals and birds. In experimental drawings, limbs of men or animals may be drawn in various positions on the same body or there are small drawings of separate details such as a hoof or a paw or a pair of antlers, an item of clothing or a thornbush. By order of Bahrām Mirzā, brother of Shah Tahmāsp, Dust Muḥammad collected together many sketches, drawings and paintings and formed them into an album at Tabriz in 1544, to which he added his treatise on artists and calligraphers⁽¹⁾. These sketches and drawings must have been gathered up from every nook and cranny in the studios, for they include 14th- and 15th-century work, some demonstrating the influence of Chinese artists. Particularly interesting are some practice sketches, preliminary drawings and completed paintings of incidents occurring in such works as the *Shāhnāma* of Firdawsī, *Khamsa* of Nizāmī and *Katila va Dimna*.

Preliminary drawings

Besides practice sketches, artists would make full-scale preliminary drawings for intended illustrations. A particularly fine example, in the Tabriz style of *circa* 1540, is a drawing of Shīrīn hunting watched by Khusraw (FIG 73). The quality of the drawing is such that it might have been intended as an illustration to the famous *Khamsa* of Nizāmī (Or. 2265) produced for Shah Tahmāsp, in which this particular subject is, perhaps surprisingly, unrepresented.

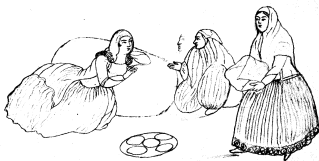
Comparison between the romantic 16th-century Tabriz drawing and a Europeanised sketch made in Tehran in the mid-19th century gives some indication of the changes that three hundred years wrought in Persian painting. A 19th-century Qājār album (Or. 4938) in the British Library includes five preliminary sketches made by Abu'l-Hasan Ghaffārī for illustrations to an immense copy of the *Thousand and One*

METHODS AND MATERIALS



FIG 73 Khusraw watching Shirin hunting. Preliminary sketch
Album. Persian, Tabriz, circa 1540.
Topkapı Sarayı, Hazine 2161 (143b)

FIG 74 Preliminary sketch by
Abu'l-Hasan Ghaḥfārī for
The Arabian Nights. *Album*.
10 × 17.5 cm. Persian, Qājār style,
mid-19th century. Or. 4938 (17)



Nights (Arabian Nights) (FIG 74) now in Tehran Gulistan Palace Library. The work was completed in six volumes in 1855 after thirty-six artists had worked on it for seven years. It included over eleven hundred pages of paintings in the Qājār style and the whole project was designed and supervised by Abu'l-Ḥasan Ghaffārī, who was responsible for some of the paintings. Appointed court painter by Muḥammad Shāh in 1842, he studied in Italy from 1846–50.

Portraiture, whether of an individual or of the emperor with his nobles in crowded court scenes, at durbars and celebrations, is one of the features of Mughal art and many quick sketches of portrait subjects exist. The artist would make sketches from life, either with the subject sitting for the purpose or else seemingly unaware. Sketches of fellow artists at work in the studio, formal drawings of a nobleman's profile, working drawings of durbar and other crowd scenes or studies of animals or of floral border designs have all been kept, much as they were in the Persian studios, and like all studio 'sweepings' throw light on the artists' methods of working. The Mughal sketches for portraits are often more pleasing in their spontaneity than the finished ultra-formal likenesses. In crowd scenes, names of the subjects of the sketches would be written on sash or collar. The Mughal artists used charred tamarind twigs for these preliminary sketches.

Repetition of compositions

There is ample evidence that the finest miniatures of the 14th century inspired artists of various academies in later years. Compositions were repeated with the aid of pounces and sketches or by direct copying of full-scale miniatures. Manuscripts were taken, not only from city to city within Iran, but to Ottoman Turkey and to India. As the history of painting in Iran can be traced by the rise and fall of the various patrons who maintained academies, so can the progress of the most superb manuscripts. As artists moved from academy to academy so they took manuscripts with them. Some compositions which occur in the superb 1396 Khvājū Kirmānī manuscript (Add. 18113) (PLATE 1) done for Sultan Aḥmad at Tabriz are seen again in the miscellany produced in *circa* 1410–11 for Iskandar Sultan at Shiraz (Add. 27261) (PLATE 4). In turn they, and other compositions originating in the Shiraz miscellany, were used as models throughout the 15th century. The miniature of Humāy at the Chinese court (PLATE 1) from the 1396 manuscript, for instance, is the prototype of the considerably-less crowded painting of Alexander the Great at the court of Queen Nushāba in the 1410–11 Shiraz miscellany. In turn, in its more simplified form and with subtle variations of detail, this composition occurs in the 1427 manuscript (now in Vienna) of the poem of *Humāy va Humāyūn* which was produced for Bāysunghur at Herat and in which the servants have sprouted wings, and in the Topkapı Sarayı *Khamsa* of Nizāmī of 1445–6 (Hazine 781) (FIG 13), also in the Herat style. A composition of Majnūn and Laylā fainting in a tribal encampment, first seen in the Shiraz 1410–11 miscellany, occurs in dated manuscripts stretching right across the 15th century, becoming more sophisticated each time it emerges in *circa* 1430 (Herat), 1474 (Shiraz) and 1494 (Later Herat), the latter being a very fine painting in

the *Khamsa* of Nizāmī (Or. 6810) in the British Library. This succession of repeated compositions provides a fascinating study of the chain of continuity in which the links join different periods, styles and academies of Persian painting. From those miniatures painted for Sultan Aḥmad at Baghdad in 1396, the chain extends via Iskandar Sultan, 1410–11, at Shiraz, the period of Shāhrukh at Herat 1444–5, the patronage of Pīr Būdāq at Shiraz or Baghdad during the 1460s, again at Shiraz in the 1470s and, finally, during the Later Herat period of the 1490s. The quality of the paintings and the similarity of detail within them surely points to the fact that, as artists and other craftsmen moved, so they took choice manuscripts with them and they, and later artists, continued to work from them. So manuscripts would move from Baghdad to Shiraz *circa* 1398, from Shiraz to Herat in 1415, Tabriz to Herat in 1420, and from Herat to Tabriz in the early 16th century. Top quality manuscripts were enormously prized and, through the repetition of miniatures, it is possible to trace the origins of late 16th-century paintings back to originals which had emanated from the Herat or Tabriz academies during the previous century. Sometimes, too, these later manuscripts include miniatures in which details such as a pair of lovers, a demon being killed, warriors in a battle scene, wolves or lions being hunted or a group of players in a polo match, can be traced back over one hundred and fifty years to the original composition. It becomes a challenge to recognise where the originals appeared and sometimes a matter of regret that what must have been a superb painting in its original and earlier form is now lost.

Compositions in Persian manuscripts which were taken to India were copied by Mughal artists who stamped their own local and individual idiosyncrasies of colour, landscape, architecture and costume on them while producing a perfectly-drawn composition. Artists who were persuaded to go to India from Tabriz by the Mughal emperor Humāyūn in the mid-16th century would have taken examples of Persian work with them as well as pounces and practice sketches. The copying of earlier paintings continues today but the results are travesties of the original Safavid compositions, usually being taken from colour reproductions in books. However carefully they may be drawn, they are devoid of the glowing colours and gold which are an integral part of the glory of Persian painting.

Undoubtedly Bābur's son Humāyūn also took manuscripts back with him to India when he eventually returned after exile in Iran at Tabriz and at Kabul in the mid-16th century. One of these was possibly the British Library's *Khamsa* of Nizāmī (Or. 6810) which was originally written in 1494–5 at Herat and which bears inscriptions added by Jahāngir and Shāhjahān.

Border paintings

The most spectacular and earliest paintings which decorate the borders of Persian manuscript pages are something of an enigma and have been written about and discussed since they were first published by F.R. Martin⁽²⁾ in 1926. They decorate eight folios of the *Dīwān* (collected poems) of Sultan Aḥmad, the Jalayirid patron of the fine manuscripts which had such a vital and lasting influence on Persian painting,

calligraphy and the art of the book in general. The British Library's *Khamṣa* of Khvājū Kirmānī (Add. 18113) produced at Baghdad for Sultan Aḥmad in 1396 is a key manuscript in this respect, with its full-page illustrations extending into the borders of the page, and the poems written in *nasta'liq* by Mir 'Alī Tabrizī, the scribe who perfected this elegant script. The *Divān*, (now in the Freer Gallery of Art)⁽³⁾ which was also copied by Mir 'Alī Tabrizī, is thought to be later than the *Khamṣa* of Khvājū Kirmānī, possibly dating from the turn of the century before Sultan Aḥmad was hounded out of Baghdad by Timūr's army. The border paintings which decorate eight folios and include quite remarkable pastoral scenes, are unique in Persian painting because they form miniatures in their own right which stretch right across the page, only interrupted by the text of the poems which is enclosed within ruled lines. They are, no doubt, the antecedents of the small drawings of incidents from the *Shāhnāma* or poems of Niẓāmī in the borders of some pages in the miscellany done for another great patron of the book, Iskandar Sultān, at Shiraz in 1410–11 (British Library MS Add. 27261) but were not, unlike other aspects of Jalayirid work, the beginning of a lasting tradition in Persian art. The convention of elaborate border paintings which included human figures did not re-emerge until the late 16th century and then not in Persian manuscripts but in those produced for the Mughal emperor Akbar (d. 1605) in India.

The small paintings of such incidents as warriors fighting, Khusraw watching Shīrīn bathing, or Majnūn in the desert, which occur in the borders of pages in the Iskandar Sultan miscellany, are far outnumbered by geometric and arabesque motifs which occur in many different combinations of design and colour. They include what is probably the earliest example of an arabesque bearing human and animal heads (FIG 75), the *Waqwāq* design, so-called after the mythical tree which hung with heads in place of fruit (FIG 62). From the period of Ibrāhīm Sultan (d. 1435), who succeeded at Shiraz in 1414, and of Shāhrukh at Herat from *circa* 1415 to 1447 and, later still, of Sultan Ḥusayn (d. 1506), the borders of manuscript pages were usually left plain or, at most, bore a simple arabesque design. It was not until the 16th century that borders were decorated all over with paintings of animals, both realistic and mythical, at play or fighting, against a background of trees and plants, streams and waterfalls and with birds flying amongst clouds along the border at the top of the page. The *Khamṣa* of Niẓāmī in the British Library which was produced for Shah Tahmāsp (Or. 2265) between 1539–43, is the finest manuscript to demonstrate the art of Safavid border painting (FIG 81). These paintings did not form one continuous theme, interrupted by the central text, like those in the *Divān* of Sultan Aḥmad, but the border on each side had themes which, though independent, fitted in with those above and below.

The variety and style of the border paintings in Safavid manuscripts influenced both Ottoman Turkish and Mughal artists and, as in miniature painting, were developed by indigenous painters to suit their own styles. In both countries the extension of these decorations into what were virtually separate border miniatures was undoubtedly at the inclination of the local artists and their patrons. In the manuscript of the *Khamṣa* of Niẓāmī completed for Akbar in 1595 (British Library MS Or. 12208), the borders are filled with animals, birds and plants much as they are in

the Shah Tahmāsp Tabriz Nizāmī of 1539–43 (Or. 2265) (FIG 81). In the latter nearly every page has a different motif and, although abstract designs are used towards the end of the manuscript, most of the margins are filled with paintings, in two tones of gold, of bears, monkeys, tigers, lions, gazelles and snow leopards in addition to mythical creatures such as the dragon, the giant bird, the *simurgh*, and the kilin, either at rest, fighting or hunting. Trees, plants, streams and birds are all part of the landscape with herons, hawks, ducks and ribbon clouds painted along the top margin. Simple floral designs are used to decorate the borders of miniatures so as not to distract the eye from the central theme. In many instances silver, now blackened by oxydisation, was used for water, horns and hoofs. These border paintings demonstrate to the full the Iranian love of nature and also the way in which the early 13th-century Chinese elements had become totally absorbed. Dragons, kilins, mythical birds and ribbon clouds were all borrowed from Chinese art. Gold marginal paintings which reached their peak in the 16th century, disappeared after the late 17th century in Iran but continued to be a feature of the pages of portraits and calligraphy in Mughal albums for much longer.

The artists and craftsmen who were taken to India from Tabriz by Humāyūn in the mid-16th century taught the Indian artists and craftsmen the art of Safavid manuscript decoration in all its forms. By the late 16th century in India, under the patronage of Humāyūn's son, the emperor Akbar (d. 1605), manuscripts produced at the royal atelier were as sumptuous as the products of Shah Tahmāsp's academy. The *Khamṣa* of Nizāmī (Or. 12208) completed for Akbar in 1595 makes interesting comparison with the manuscript of the same poems produced for Shah Tahmāsp (Or. 2265) in 1539–43. The border paintings in the Mughal manuscript, although still much influenced by Tabriz work, are markedly different in some aspects. Both the Persian and the Indian artists who painted the border designs incorporated the same mythical animals and birds although the kilin, the Chinese lion-like animal sprouting wings on flanks and shoulders, is covered in spots in the Mughal borders. That Mughal artists did not slavishly copy Persian border designs, is also proved by the introduction of animals and birds native to India. These include the nilgai, blackbuck, Indian cheetah (now extinct) and rhinoceros, the chital (spotted deer), civet, mongoose and ibis. Mughal border designs, incorporating birds and animals in a landscape, are somewhat stiff and stilted, and lack the flowing elegance of the Persian variety.

The border paintings in the 1595 *Khamṣa* also follow the Persian tradition of using a simple design to surround miniatures but they do, however, contain one truly Mughal feature, that of incorporating human figures into a design. It only occurs on one page (folio 169b) in the *Khamṣa* and is confined to a single figure of a man holding a book, but another sumptuous manuscript which is exactly contemporary (1595), the *Bahārīstān* of Jāmī in the Bodleian Library (Elliot 254), has coloured figures on thirteen pages, most of which are attributed to Akbar's artists.

Tinted marginal figures were increasingly introduced into border designs under the patronage of Jahāngīr (d. 1627). The manuscript of the early sections of the *Akbarnāma* in the British Library (Or. 12988), which is dated 1603–4, i.e. towards the



FIG 75. *Wayway* arabesque border design
Miscellany. Folio = 18.3 x 13 cm, border = 2 cm wide.
Persian, Shiraz, 1410–11. Add. 27261 (536a)



FIG 76. Illuminated 'awān, by Maṣṣūr, and border
paintings *Akhbār-nāma* by Abū'l-Faẓl ibn Muḥarak.
Folio = 40.6 x 27.9. Mughal, 1603–4. Or. 12988 (2b)

end of the reign of Akbar who died in 1605, includes human figures in border paintings at the beginning of the manuscript (FIG 76). These were probably added after Jahāngīr succeeded to the throne and may possibly have been painted by Maṣṣūr, one of the most famous Mughal artists, whose signature occurs in the illumination of this manuscript.

Although the Persian influence in the form of arabesque and geometric designs is apparent in manuscripts throughout the Mughal period of India, gold border paintings, particularly in the de luxe manuscripts prepared for royal patrons, became increasingly elaborate. Sometimes the subjects were allied to the main illustration on the page, whether of hunting or battle scenes, of shrines or ascetics in a landscape, usually in epic works or romances. Manuscripts of a more historical nature or single paintings and portraits in albums, tended to include single figures in the borders, which were portraits of individuals whether dervishes, noblemen, musicians, craftsmen, artists or even of the current emperor. In a similar manner, the occupation of the individual portrayed in the border would reflect the central theme, i.e. a soldier for a battle scene or an eminent official for a *darbar* painting.

Another theme used in Mughal border paintings was that of single flowers or clumps of plants grouped at intervals round the borders of the central painting. Some, such as crown imperials, are identifiable, others are stylised and some so fanciful as to be unrecognisable as a species. Jahāngīr was a keen naturalist and his fondness for Kashmir, which he referred to as his wild garden, may account for the number of floral borders surrounding paintings done for him. During the reign of his successor, tulips, poppies, hyacinths, irises, roses and crown imperials were all used in border paintings, along with other highly-coloured imponderables, in manuscript pages and round single portraits and album pages executed for Shāhjahān (d. 1566).

In Ottoman Turkey, as in India, the indigenous artists absorbed the Persian traditions and then proceeded to decorate the borders of manuscript pages in their own characteristic manner. They, like the Persian artists, did not use colours but remained faithful to gold as their medium but they did include figures. An Ottoman version of Nizāmī's *Khusraw u Shirin* by Shaykhī (Şeyhī) in the British Library (Or. 2708), which dates from the last quarter of the 16th century, has figures painted in gold and enclosed in triangles on every folio. The subjects – humans, animals and birds – range from the realistic to the grotesque and distorted. Dwarfs, women, court officials and servants (including Janissaries in their distinctive caps), dervishes, ghouls, demons, grotesque and caricatured faces, animals, both realistic and mythical, are all portrayed in typical Ottoman style. The miniatures that illustrate this manuscript are in an archaic, but charming, Persianised style which shows a strong Herat influence but the border paintings are totally Ottoman in origin and concept. The miniatures are sometimes complemented by a small border painting connected with the main subject of the illustration (PLATE 24).

Another Ottoman manuscript in the British Library, a late 16th-century copy of a poem on the martyrdom of Husayn (Or. 7238), has a variety of border paintings, in two tones of gold, by a particularly fine artist who excels in animal portraiture. In contrast to the Persian convention of decorating borders, the most detailed and elaborate in this Ottoman manuscript either surround the illustrations themselves or the text opposite. They include a painting of a huntsman whose two hounds are scrabbling at the trunk of a tree in which baboons are playing. Others are of a man ploughing with oxen and a young boy in charge of horses and a mule. In addition some borders are decorated with the conventional gold designs of animals and birds.

Bold arabesques bearing large stylised peony flowers were much used in Ottoman borders (PLATE 26) as was marbled paper of different designs and colours. Cut-out paper work, an Ottoman speciality, was particularly effective when used to decorate the borders of paintings and pages of text. Albums produced for foreigners in the 17th century were decorated in this way, one example being the Peter Mundy album of 1618 in the British Museum (1974-6-17-013). Besides the roses, lilac, lilies and cypress trees cut out of suitably coloured paper and pasted on the borders, full-page cut-outs such as vases or pavilions were included.

Illumination

The sumptuous and meticulous art of the illumination of manuscript title pages, headings, verse divisions, colophons, dedications, borders and book covers, had its origin in the simple decoration of vowel marks and in the ornamentation of the circles separating the verses of Qur'āns written in the 7th and 8th centuries by Arab calligraphers. By the 14th century ornate palmettes and sunbursts decorated the borders of Qur'āns and the arabesque which developed from an origin as simple as that of the border decorations, had become indivisible from Islamic decoration. It was evolved from the ornamentation of the early square Arabic Kufic script when calligraphers began to add tendrils and scrolls to the top of the vertical characters, dividing them into leaf-like forms. The arabesque is a foliage design in which leaves and, later, flowers as well, are always attached by their stalks to a tendril, never varying from the original concept of a leaf growing from a line. The arabesque is capable of infinite variety, both in design and, when used in manuscripts, in the combination of gold, blue, crimson and other superb colours. The intertwining, looping, plaiting and spiralling of the tendrils was the perfect foil for the severe geometric borders in which they were enclosed, proving a constant challenge to the illuminators who invented and perfected the designs. The Persian illuminators, in particular, with their strong sense of pattern and colour and their inventiveness in design brought the art of illumination to a peak. Whether geometric or arabesque or a combination of both, these designs are masterpieces of minute and accurate detail.

Artists of Iran, Turkey, India and Kashmir added their own characteristics to the original Arab art of illumination, using it to enhance manuscripts of every kind, secular as well as religious. By the late 13th century lotus flowers began to be incorporated in designs in manuscripts produced at Maragha in the north of Iran. They were also a feature of illuminated title pages and headings, during the period of the Inju dynasty of Shiraz in the south of Iran, in the 1330s (FIG 77). The lotus motif is found in pre-Islamic Achaemenian and Sasanian designs and, later, in more abstract form after the Arab conquests. It re-emerged in the Seljuq period in Iran in its original form and may have been derived from designs on textiles imported from India at that time for, by the early 14th century, the port of Hormuz was the centre of trade between Iran and the Indian port of Cambay (Gujarat). The lotus petal border design used in manuscripts in which the petals fan out left and right from the centre (FIG 77) is also a feature of the carved book covers used to enclose Indian Jain



FIG. 77 Lotus petal and flower design
Shāhnāma of Firdawsi. 37.5 × 29 cm. Persian, Inju style, Shiraz, 1331.
 Topkapı Sarayı, Hazine 1479 (12)

METHODS AND MATERIALS

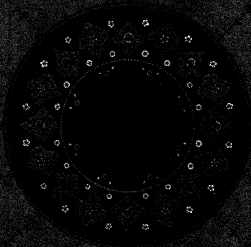


PLATE 46 Illuminated circle
Khamisa of Nigāmi. 15.3 × 15.3 cm. (including lineals).
Mughal, 1595. Or. 12208 (285a)

METHODS AND MATERIALS

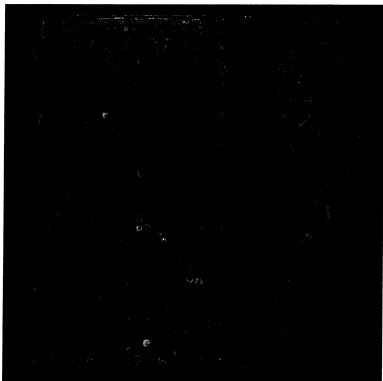
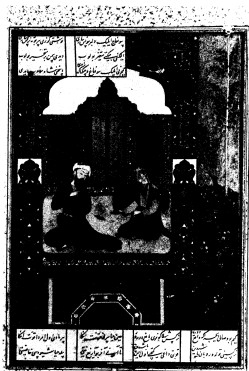


PLATE 47 Painted lacquer covers
Poems by Hilālī. 19.5 × 19.7 cm. Tabriz or early Qazvin, 1550. Or. 4124

FIG 78 Illuminated
tilework *Hayrat al-abrar* by
Navā'i. 13.5 × 10 cm.
Persian, Later Herat style,
1485. Bodleian Library,
MS Elliot 287 (28a)



palmleaf manuscripts. During the Inju period at Shiraz extensive use was made of this petal design, with the complete lotus flower filling spaces each side of the heading and in the corners left by circular patterns enclosed in a square or rectangular border, which was itself often of the petal motif.

As in miniature painting, every period and every atelier had its distinctive style of manuscript illumination, whether it was one of the Persian schools or those of Sultanate or Mughal India, or Kashmir or Ottoman Turkey. Persian illuminators, as well as artists, were also imported into India and Turkey at different times, either by force or by inducement, and, as also occurred in book illustration, the indigenous pupils developed their own styles. The designs of the illuminator were not confined to the text pages but were incorporated on details within miniatures, on architecture (FIG 78), tents, canopies, saddle cloths (PLATE 10), quivers and bowcases, textiles and

carpets. These motifs complemented, and vied with, illuminated title pages and headings, the intricacy of their designs, combined with glowing colours, producing a remarkable effect, particularly in Persian and Mughal manuscripts.

In 15th-century Iran, the academies at Shiraz under the patronage of Iskandar Sultan (deposed 1414) and at Herat during the time of Bāysunghur (d. 1433), Shāhrukh (d. 1447) and Sultan Husayn (d. 1506) produced particularly beautiful work. When Iskandar Sultan's academy was at its height, *circa* 1410–11, his illuminators were unsurpassed for their inventive and innovative work, both in design and in the use of colour and gold. The borders of some pages in the small-format manuscripts favoured by Iskandar Sultan, when they were not entirely taken up with text, were filled with small drawings, lightly painted, or with geometric and arabesque designs in glowing colours. One arabesque border design (FIG 75) in which human and animal heads are attached to tendrils in the place of leaves is a very early example of the *Waqwaq* decoration. The text itself, written in a neat small hand, is divided by illuminated headings and every folio bears a triangular 'thumbpiece' containing a different design, often incorporating flowers, animals or birds. These triangular designs were used within the text in later manuscripts, often as verse divisions. They continued to appear in Shiraz manuscripts throughout the 15th century, finding their way, via imported Shiraz manuscripts, into India, as can be seen in the British Library's Bengal *Sharafnāma* (Or. 13836) of 1531–2. Shiraz work of the early 15th century includes the use of a deep maroon, a colour particularly favoured by Iskandar Sultan's illuminators, as black was to be, later in the century, by those working at the Herat academy of Sultan Husayn, *circa* 1480–1500 (PLATE 45). Another feature of Shiraz illumination, which goes back to Qur'āns produced in that city in the 14th century, is the distinctive and simple pattern of gold leaves on a single stem against a blue (often pale blue) background. It occurs in Shiraz manuscripts throughout the 15th century in both illumination and paintings, being included within miniatures particularly on architecture, as on the dome in the 1486 Turkman *Shāhnāma* (Add. 18188) (PLATE 7). Like the triangular designs and other Shiraz elements this gold leaf motif reached India via manuscripts and imported artists. It occurs in the Bengal *Sharafnāma* of 1531–2 (Or. 13836) as an architectural decoration (PLATE 32) and even as late as *circa* 1600, in a dispersed Provincial Mughal *Rāmāyana* of which miniatures were on exhibition at the David Carriv Gallery⁽⁴⁾ and at the Hayward Gallery during the Festival of India in the United Kingdom in 1982. The group of Shiraz manuscripts discussed in the section on the 15th century, which are dated in the 1470s and were illustrated by artists working in the traditional and elegant earlier style of Herat of *circa* 1425, remain consistent throughout for the illumination also belongs to that earlier tradition.

When Herat re-emerged in the last quarter of the 15th century as a leading centre of book production under the patronage of Sultan Husayn Bayqarā (d. 1506), the illuminators and artists working for him (FIG 79) stamped their impression on Persian art for all time and, directly or indirectly, made a marked impression on the manuscript illumination and illustration in Ottoman Turkey and Sultanate and Mughal India. The British Library's *Khamṣa* of Niẓāmī (Or. 6810) has superb

FIG 79. Sultan Husayn receiving a book
in his academy *Divân-i Husaynî*.
24.6 × 15.3 cm. Persian, Later Herat style,
1492. Topkapı Sarayı, EH 1635 (123a)



illuminated title pages and headings (PLATE 45), typical of the best work of the Herat academy of the 1480s and '90s. A Herat manuscript with similar illumination and miniatures must have been imported by the Sultanate Malwa ruler Nāsir al-Dīn Khaljī, for a copy of the *Bustān* of Sa'dī in New Delhi which was copied and illustrated for him has an *'uncūn* design copied from a Herat manuscript as well as compositions in the Herat manner. The quality of the colours is nowhere near that of Herat work, neither in the illumination nor the miniatures. However, there can be no doubt as to which style the Malwa artists owed their inspiration when producing this manuscript.

Sultan Husayn was a most enlightened patron who took a keen interest in the activities of his studios. A manuscript of his own poems written in Eastern Turkish, in the Topkapı Sarayı (EH 1636) dated 1492, was undoubtedly produced for him for one of the miniatures (folio 123a) shows him holding a book while all around him his craftsmen are at work (FIG 79). A calligrapher is working in the left foreground, an illuminator opposite him, an artist is on the right while the head of the academy is proudly watching his patron's obvious pleasure in the book he is holding, probably the very copy of his own poems.

The *'unwāns* (headings) occurring throughout the British Library Herat manuscript (Or. 6810) are of the finest quality. In the illustrated example (PLATE 45), lapis lazuli has been used for the main area of the background which is covered by a delicate arabesque of gold tendrils. The narrow white border, dotted with gold and running over and under itself, encloses the central heading, the characters of which are written in white against gold. The whole composition is contained within a rectangle formed by a narrow, but intricately plaited, band of gold. The arabesque tendrils have red, white or gold flowers attached, including the lotus which was previously so much in evidence in late 13th- and early 14th-century Persian illumination. The extensive use of flowers in arabesques was probably introduced to the academy of Shah Ismā'il when artists and illuminators fled to Tabriz from Herat in the early 16th century. Tabriz illuminated designs retained the Herat use of black and used even more flowers to decorate the arabesque designs. The art of the Tabriz illuminator was introduced into India at the time of the second Mughal emperor, Humāyūn (d. 1556), and arabesques became even more florid under his successor, Akbar (d. 1605). Mughal miniatures in the *Hamzanāma* (FIG 66) demonstrate this, and carpets, canopies and textiles are all decorated with innumerable flowers as indeed they continued to be in paintings and illumination of the later Akbar period (PLATE 37).

Examples of fine Herat illumination also reached the Ottoman court by way of manuscripts which had previously been taken to Tabriz from Herat. They were seized during Ottoman raids, particularly after 1514 when the Ottoman army defeated Shah Ismā'il and when Persian artists and craftsmen were taken to Istanbul. The British Library has a manuscript (Or. 13948) which was written and illuminated in Herat, *circa* 1493, in which the headings are equal in quality to those in the 1494 Nizāmī (Or. 6810) (PLATE 45). This manuscript (Or. 13948) was undoubtedly one of those taken to Turkey, for Ottoman miniatures in a style of *circa* 1520 were added (PLATE 23) to the blank spaces in it.

In the 16th century the double-page miniatures, which often formed the frontispiece at the beginning of a manuscript, were sometimes enclosed within illuminated borders. Shiraz illuminators, like the artists, produced particularly distinctive styles, with their own colour schemes and designs. The rich colours seen at the time of the patronage of Iskandar Sultan (*circa* 1410), the deep blue and gold of the 1460s and '70s manuscript of Pīr Būdāq and the simpler designs, but with an equally powerful use of blue and gold, decorating Turkman manuscripts, are all readily identifiable. The Malwa patrons of Sultanate India also imported Shiraz manuscripts and these influenced not only the style of the artist but that of the illuminator as well and were models for the Indian artists, in addition to the Herat inspired *Bustān* of the same period.

In the 16th century, Shiraz illuminators produced wide, bold-patterned, predominantly gold designs with sharply indented edges (PLATE 14) as the borders surrounding paintings, particularly at the beginning of a manuscript. Tabriz illuminators preferred borders with straight lines, both for the *sarvīlaks* (title pages) and to surround frontispiece paintings. That 16th-century Shiraz illuminators could be inventive and produce a variety of designs needs to be demonstrated for, possibly because at that

time manuscripts were being copied and illustrated for commercial purposes, albeit with a fine technique, there is a marked similarity in illumination between one Shiraz manuscript and another. However, there is a Shiraz manuscript of the *Haft Awrang* of Jāmi in the Topkapı Sarayı (Hazine 810) in which every page has a different design surrounding the text. To turn the pages, folio by folio, is to marvel at the variety of the colour schemes and the inventiveness of the designs.

The illumination of Mughal Indian manuscripts was initially influenced by Tabriz work in which the dark blue background bearing gold arabesques, was decorated with coloured flowers. Mughal designs became bolder in concept, the beginning of the manuscript, or a page dividing one poem from another, often consisting of a large circular motif (PLATE 46). Very soon the Mughal preference turned to lighter colours, including pink, buff and pale blue and these, combined with gold, produced a quite stunning effect, especially in the large full-page designs in the form of a star or shaped like a shield. The same colours were used in illuminated *'unwāns*, which were sometimes signed, a rare event in Persian manuscripts, but to be found in the Malwa *Bustān* of 1501-2. The famous Mughal artist, Maṣṣūf, whose animal paintings are such a delight, was also an illuminator, his minute signature usually appearing at the foot of a column dividing the text at the beginning of a manuscript, for example in the 1603 *Akbarnāma* (Or. 12988) in the British Library. The signature at the foot of the right-hand column is so small it is almost indistinguishable from the floral decoration (FIG 76). Maṣṣūf worked for both Akbar and Jahāngīr and paintings by him occur in the British Library's *Bāburnāma* (Or. 3714) of circa 1590 (PLATE 36). Another famous



FIG 80 Whirling arabesque design and illuminated page decorations *Gharā'ib al-shiḡar* by Navā'i. 10.8 × 8 cm. Ottoman Turkish, circa 1520-30. Or. 13061 (224a)

manuscript, the Mughal *Khamṣa* of Nizāmī of 1595 (Or. 12208), has two 'uncāns' (folios 82b and 169b) signed by Khvāja Jān with the date on the latter given as 1004/1595.

Tabriz work, not unnaturally, also had a marked influence on that of the Ottoman Turkish illuminator. The Persian artists and illuminators who were taken to Istanbul worked side by side with their Turkish pupils and colleagues in the royal studios. No group of manuscripts shows more clearly the original Persian influence and the evolving of a Turkish style than copies of the poems of Shīr 'Alī Navā'ī of *circa* 1520–30 which are in various collections, including those in Turkey. The British Library has three, one of which (Or. 13061) has the most beautiful illuminated headings, divisions and endings throughout. These include an example of the circular 'rolling' arabesque (FIG 80) which is found in other Turkish manuscripts, usually at the end of a poem or adorning the final colophon. This particular style of decoration may have been inspired by Tabriz work similar to the 'whirling' arabesque in the famous *Khamṣa* of Nizāmī produced for Shah Tahmāsp between 1439–43 (FIG 81). One of the tendrils ends in a spray of blossom in this unusual and decorative design.

Turkish illuminators, in the same way as the artists, developed their own distinctive and more austere style. They shared the Mughal liking for a combination of pink, pale blue and green, but the colours were altogether harder and designs proportionately larger, so that the overall effect, although glittery, lacked the finesse of Mughal work, especially that seen in the superb manuscripts produced during the years, *circa* 1580–1605, of Akbar's reign.

Later, 17th- and early 18th-century Kashmiri manuscripts were influenced by Mughal designs but became increasingly florid with an extensive use of pink flowers, not only as a border round the text but in horizontal lines and columns across and down the pages. The illuminators of high quality Kashmiri manuscripts often used deep blue and gold exclusively in their *sarvāḥs* and 'uncāns'. This combination of gold and deep blue, set against a background of pure white polished paper, provides an astonishingly opulent and glittering effect. The pages in manuscripts decorated like this often include columns of pink flowers, and tend to over-emphasise the decoration by enclosing every line of text in gold and this, added to the overall colour scheme of the miniatures which is usually orange, red and pink, can be quite overwhelming. Nineteenth-century Kashmiri manuscripts were, in the main, produced commercially in the bazaars for foreigners, both miniatures and illumination, like those of the bazaar paintings of Mughal India and Ottoman Turkey, descending to a very low level.

Paper

The secrets of papermaking reached the Muslim world in AD 751, when, among the prisoners taken by the Arabs at the battle of Atlakh near Tashkent, were Chinese craftsmen trained in the art. The first factory was set up at nearby Samarkand under their instruction and the high-quality paper made at Samarkand was esteemed for centuries. The first Mughal emperor, Bābur (d. 1530), commented in his memoirs

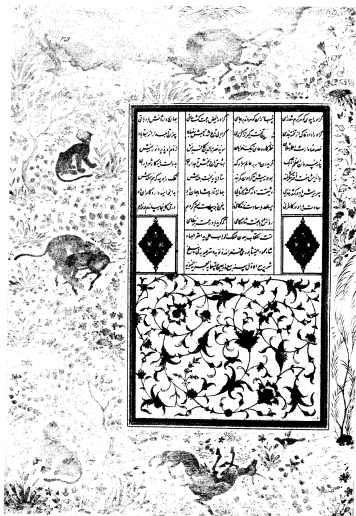


FIG 81 Arabesque design and border paintings
Khamsa of Nizami. 22.9 × 14 cm. Persian, Tabriz, 1539–43. Or. 2265 (128a)

that the finest paper in the world came from Samarkand. A master of the *nasta'liq* script, Sultan 'Alī Mashhadī (d. 1520) wrote of the suitability of Samarkand paper for good calligraphy. Previously vellum had been used for the making of Qur'āns by the Arabs and it continued to be used for some two hundred years after the discovery of the art of papermaking. Papermaking was introduced into Italy by the Arabs towards the end of the 13th century from whence it spread to the whole of Europe.

Sultan 'Alī Mashhadī also commented that there was no better paper than Chinese for it made an excellent background for the ink of the calligrapher and for gold, the coloured paper in particular. That this is so, is evident in manuscripts made up of pages of this Chinese paper for it is thick, highly polished and either flecked with gold or bearing Chinese paintings in gold. Two manuscripts in the British Library in which this paper was used are both of the 15th century. An anthology (Add. 16561) which was copied by Sharaf al-Dīn Husayn, *Sulṭānī* (i.e. the royal scribe) at Shamakha on the Caspian in north-west Iran in 1468, also includes miniatures. The colours of the pages make an ideal background to the miniatures and to the illuminated *'unwāns* (headings) in this manuscript. Colours of the paper include indigo, purple, bright mauve, lavender, apricot, sage green, light brown and yellow ochre and every page is heavily sprinkled with large flecks of gold (PLATE 6). It is not known whether the paper was imported in sheets already gold-flecked and polished or whether the gold was applied by Persian craftsmen. If the latter, they must have used their method of applying gold through a wide-mesh cloth on this manuscript. Comparison with the finely-sprinkled gold seen on the pages of the Houghton *Shāhnāma* (FIG 39) shows the flecks to be unusually large in the anthology (PLATE 6). The *'unwāns* in this manuscript provide a stunning effect for the illuminator has used considerable ingenuity in the variety of designs and colour schemes, each of which is set off by its background of highly polished coloured paper. In one design (folio 6b) he omits blue entirely, using a yellow pigment and two tones of gold, an unusual and effective combination.

Another manuscript in the British Library which is made up of Chinese paper (Add. 7759) but which has no illustrations, is a copy of the *Dīwān* (collected poems) of Ḥāfiz which was copied by Sulaymān Fushanjī in 855/1451. The place of copying is not given in the colophon but, if the calligrapher's name is any indication, it may originate from Herat as Fushanj was a village near that city. The same kind of paper as that in the anthology (Add. 16561) is used and in similar colours but it differs in that there are Chinese paintings in gold on nineteen of the pages. These include seven with designs of bamboo, willows, pomegranates and other plants and twelve others with typical Chinese landscapes including such subjects as a pagoda set against a background of mountains and lakes (FIG 82). Manuscripts in which this high-quality paper was used are comparatively rare, particularly those bearing Chinese paintings in gold. There are two in the Topkapı Sarayı Museum Library in Istanbul, both of which also date from the 15th century. A copy of *Sitta-i Aṭṭār* (A. 3059) is dated 841/1438; the other is a Qur'ān (M. 100) which has several gold paintings of pomegranates, some of the fruit splitting open to reveal the seeds. Professor Priscilla Soucek has published⁽⁵⁾ a folio from a copy of the *Makhzan al-asrār* of Haydar dated 883/1478, a manuscript which has gold Chinese paintings but which is written on blue paper

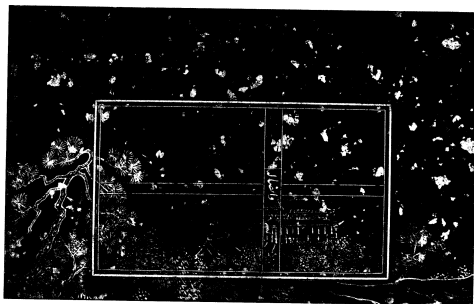


FIG. 82 Gold-flecked and painted Chinese paper
Divān of Hāfiz. Folio = 17 × 11 cm. Persian MS. 1451. Add. 7759 (32)

throughout. Another such manuscript was sold at Christie's Islamic and Indian Manuscripts and Miniatures Sale on 5 May 1977 (Lot No. 56).

Persian papermakers of the 16th century appear to have manufactured coloured paper for use in manuscripts as a substitute for the Chinese variety. Bukhara manuscripts of the mid-16th century are frequently made up of coloured and gold-sprinkled paper. Paintings in gold are confined to the borders and are Islamic in design in which much use is made of the arabesque, often incorporating large peony flowers which are sometimes painted in opposing colours. The paper lacks the quality of the Chinese variety although similar colours such as mauve, blue or green are used.

Paper was also manufactured at Tabriz, and that of the highest-quality was used in the magnificent manuscripts prepared for Shah Tahmāsp. The Houghton *Shāhnāma* does not allow designs to distract from the text or miniatures by the introduction of border paintings, but confines the use of gold to the decoration of the paper over which it is densely sprinkled, covering the whole surface of a page.

Substances used for the sizing of paper varied, alumen, in the form of egg-white being used in Iran and a starch solution, such as rice-water, in India and Kashmir.

Polishing was achieved with different materials but with the same aim of producing an ideal surface for the reed pen of the scribe and the brush of the artist. Whether of crystal in Iran, agate in India or onyx in Ottoman Turkey, each polisher served its purpose. To ensure that the gold blended with the paper, it had to be applied while the sheets were still wet from size and then immediately burnished. Two methods of sprinkling gold on paper are known. One was the use of a cloth bag in which the holes of the mesh dictated the size of the pieces of gold leaf sprinkled through it. These ranged from quite large pieces (PLATE 6), somewhat haphazardly scattered, to the small, neat and almost uniform fragments decorating the Houghton *Shāhnāma* pages (FIG 39). The other method involved using paint prepared from gold leaf. It was applied by holding a brushful over the page and then sharply tapping the handle thus spattering gold paint over the surface. The paper used in manuscripts produced in India during the Sultanate period for Muslim patrons was probably imported from Iran, as it was known to be during the early Mughal period. Sultanate manuscripts of the late 15th and early 16th centuries were written on a thick strong paper, pale yellowish in colour and with a smooth surface (FIG 62). Paper was introduced into India by the Muslim invaders but did not begin to supersede palm leaves as a medium until the late 14th century. Early Mughal artists painted on cloth, another Indian tradition. Some of the *Hamzanāma* miniatures (FIG 66) were painted on cloth backed by gold-sprinkled paper but this Indian tradition did not last at the Mughal studios where paper was used exclusively as early as 1580. Paper used in Mughal manuscripts of this earlier period was probably imported from Tabriz initially, until papermills were set up and it began to be manufactured in India. Local raw materials were used in its manufacture including bamboo, flax, jute or cotton and, as book production increased, so did the number of paper factories. Manuscripts produced for Akbar in the 1590s are notable for the highly polished quality paper which is considerably darker in colour (PLATE 38) than that used in Iran.

Kashmir was famous for the thin white paper produced there, which was used widely for manuscripts. The pulp consisted of hemp fibre and rags which were pounded under a primitive mechanical hammer worked by a waterwheel. Although thin, this paper was very strong and durable and, because it was pure white, was particularly effective as a contrasting background to the blue, gold and pink so lavishly applied by the Kashmiri illuminators and to the bright colours of the miniatures (PLATE 44).

Marbled paper which was used in ornate Persian manuscripts as early as the 15th century was adopted and developed in Ottoman Turkey. It was also used in India, as in Turkey, both to write on and to incorporate in designs. Considered particularly suitable for writing choice calligraphic specimens, it was produced in an infinite variety of patterns in which gold and a wide range of colours were used. Marbled paper (*ebru*) was used extensively in Turkey for the decoration of doubleures in book bindings, in cut-out designs, both of calligraphy and pictures, as well as being prized as providing a perfect surface for fine writing. Cut-out paper was an essentially Ottoman feature of the decoration of manuscripts, used with considerable ingenuity. The designs, whether arabesque or geometric, or of calligraphic inscriptions, or

flowers, birds and animals, were used to decorate borders of albums or as pictures in their own right.

One of the finest examples of Turkish cut-out paper and collage work in the British Library (Or. 13763 D) is that of animals and birds in a landscape⁽⁶⁾. It was included in an 18th-century anthology, together with other examples of cut-out designs, equally minute, of vases of identifiable flowers including cyclamens, hyacinths, tulips, crocuses, roses and violets (Or. 13763, A-C). The landscape with animals measures only 5.5 x 14.5 centimetres. Mountains are made up of layers of marbled paper out of which a stream (of silver paper) is flowing. A hawk on the mountain attacks a crow while a stork struggles with the snake wound round its neck. A gazelle nibbling the leaves of a tree is unaware of a threatening dog. These particular cut-out paper designs are not signed but are probably late 18th-century work. Two similar examples of vases of flowers, almost certainly by the same artist, are included in a manuscript of the *Divân* of Muḥammad Selim dated 1212/1797-8 belonging to the Necib Paşa Library at Tire in Turkey⁽⁷⁾. All craftsmen in Turkey were highly thought of and during special celebrations at the Ottoman Court the guilds would process before the Sultan, demonstrating their skills. Manuscripts called the *Sûrnâme* (Book of Festivals) (H 1344 & A 3593-4) illustrating two of these events, the first taking place in 1582 for Sultan Murâd III and the other in 1720 for Aḥmad III, are in the Topkapı Sarayı Museum Library. A description of Aḥmad III's celebrations has come down to us from Evliya Çelebi⁽⁸⁾ who witnessed it. In the thirty-sixth section of the guilds he describes, amongst others, the artists, gilders, bookbinders, inkmakers, stationers (who processed dressed in paper clothes) and the paper-cutters 'who are possessed of a thousand arts' and who, as they walked in procession, cut out designs for borders and edgings from paper. The miniatures in the *Sûrnâme* manuscripts are very amusing as they portray baths attendants washing their clients, butchers marching in thick fur coats and bakers making bread in portable ovens, and countless other occupations.

Reed pen (qalam) and ink

Great care was exercised in selecting a reed suitable for use as a pen and even greater skill in preparing the nib which was cut with a knife and slanted according to the kind of calligraphy employed. In Mughal India the term *qalam* was used to distinguish various styles of painting. In his treatise on calligraphers and painters⁽⁹⁾ Qāzī Aḥmad mentions two kinds of *qalam*, one derived from a plant, that is, the reedpen, the other from an animal, that is, the painter's brush. He quotes the calligrapher, Sulṭān 'Alī, who writes that the pen should be made from a reddish reed, cut between knots on the stem in which the pith is still white. The reed should not be too hard, causing a spluttering nib, nor so soft that it wears away.

A special sharp knife, intended solely for trimming the reed and cutting the nib, was used, the reed being placed on a hard cutting surface such as bone, so that it could be cut as required. Sulṭān 'Alī recommended the scribe to try out his *qalam* by writing a series of dots and, if these dots were regular, the pen would prove to be

satisfactory for all the characters. The student scribe was urged to study the work of a master-calligrapher of the style he aspired to, as well as practising the art himself. The cutting of the nibs required skill and experience, for each variety of script called for its own kind of pen, that for *nasta'liq*, for instance, having to be cut down the centre. Strict rules were laid down for the formation, length and spacing of characters in the various scripts and the correct slant of the nib was vital for perfection in the art.

Ink was usually manufactured from lamp black mixed with water and gum arabic and a variety of other ingredients such as rock alum or a solution of gallnuts and vitriol. Other recipes, particularly in India, included the rind of pomegranates and rice or barley powder.

Pen-boxes, which were made complete with ink pots, were an indispensable part of the equipment of a calligrapher. He would need a box large enough to hold several pens, in addition to his penknife, scissors and ink pot. During the early 19th-century Qājār dynasty in Iran, these boxes (*qalamdār*) were painted and lacquered and were works of art in their own right. They are now collectors' items, those bearing signatures of court artists being particularly sought-after. The Turkish scribe would carry his pen-box (*divit*) tucked into his belt or fastened to it by a chain. In Ottoman Turkish miniatures illustrating court scenes, the scribes and secretaries always have their pen-boxes and sometimes an assistant is shown holding the *divit* for the scribe as he writes.

Artists' brushes

In Iran, the hair particularly favoured for artists' brushes was that of long-haired white cats which were especially bred for the purpose, but squirrel hair was also used. The hairs were tied into a bundle and then fitted into a quill, preferably one taken from a wing of a pigeon. The Mughal artists used squirrel hair for brushes as there was a plentiful indigenous supply, the best for the purpose being the downy hair of the tails of young grey palm squirrels (PLATE 33). The hairs were attached to quills, using the same method as that in Iran. Brushes varied from very fine to thick, according to the use to which they were put. In India, coarser hairs for larger brushes were taken from the inside of the ears of a calf and those of medium thickness from a mongoose or the underside of a goat. Brushes were as carefully and skilfully prepared as were the reed pens and Mughal artists used different brushes for the outline and for colouring, for stippling and for finishing.

Pigments and gold

The durable, brilliant, jewel-like colours in Persian miniatures were achieved by the use of mineral pigments, such as lapis lazuli and the metals, gold and silver. These were ground down, sorted from the residue in water and then combined with an adhesive medium. The skill in the preparation of pigments was as high as any of the arts that went into the preparation of fine miniatures. Unlike vegetable dyes which are transparent, the opaque mineral pigments could be applied in successive layers.

The mineral would be ground to a soft powder on a hard stone, sifted, washed and then mixed with albumen, glue or gum arabic. In tempera painting, the media used to bind the colours are very important, for the paint is applied in a liquid state and when the medium dries it holds the colour on the page. In the earlier periods, albumen was used as it made the paints resistant to water and damp. As albumen is a viscous medium, it was thinned out with vitriol or alum, either of which was responsible for the enamel-like surface, still preserved, in early miniatures. Unfortunately, paints mixed with albumen did not keep well and fresh supplies had to be constantly made, so glue was used as a substitute. This had the effect of making paints, especially crimson, stick to the opposite page. When manuscripts were piled up on each other or closely packed together on shelves, this had a disastrous effect, with whole areas of colour being torn off a painting as the pages were turned.

Another disaster which befalls manuscripts is caused by the use of green obtained from copper. Verdigris was prepared by treating pieces of copper with vinegar and the subsequent damage to manuscripts in which the colour is used has become a conservationist's nightmare. The paper becomes brittle and in time drops out, so that in the area where it was used, whether for a detail such as a tent or robe or a building within the painting, only a hole remains. Not only that, which is bad enough, the pigment's destructive powers are far-reaching enough to eat through the pages on either side of the miniatures and to stain whole sections of the manuscript brown.

Fortunately the blue pigment which is one of the glories of Islamic illumination and of Persian miniature painting has no such vices. It is obtained from lapis lazuli, the stone being pounded into pieces, of which those of the best colour were ground down, water and gum being added to obtain the correct consistency after sifting. A paler blue was obtained by the addition of white in the form of ceruse. Vermilion was obtained from cinnabar and yellow from antimony.

Mineral pigments were also mainly used in Mughal painting and were produced in the same way, by pounding, sifting, washing and the addition of gum and water, the techniques having been learned from Persian craftsmen. Lapis lazuli was imported but azurite was also used in India for blue. Malachite green was obtained from a changed form of azurite although, unfortunately, verdigris was also used. Carmine was produced from insects, while indigo was the only vegetable dye. In the copy of the *Bustān* of Sa'di produced in the central Indian Sultanate kingdom of Malwa early in the 16th century, much use was made of indigo. The miniatures appear to have been inspired by those of the Later Herat style of Iran connected with the academy of Sultan Ḥusayn. Artists working at Herat in the early 1490s used a variety of pure blues (PLATES 8 and 9) in their paintings and this is reflected in the Indian Malwa *Bustān* although the artists had to use indigo and other tints which were considerably inferior to those of the Herat manuscripts.

There were various ways of preparing the gold which was lavishly used in many facets of manuscript decoration, including book covers, both inside and out, paper, illuminated title pages, headings and verse divisions. Words are sometimes encircled in gold and it is used for lines enclosing the paintings, in border designs and in colophons. In short, gold is the most valuable and frequently used decorative

medium. The cost of such expensive pigments and of gold was one of the reasons why only the greatest in the land, whether in Iran, India or Turkey, could afford to maintain academies.

Gold leaf was prepared by placing pieces of gold between layers of deerskin which were then wired together, sometimes in a pile of two hundred or more, and pounded until thin sheets of gold leaf were obtained. This gold leaf would either be rubbed between the fingers, using gum as a moistener, or a sheet of it would be spread with dry glue and pounded until it formed a paste. Whichever of these two methods was chosen, the next stage was the same, for the gold would be put in water and the sediment which fell to the bottom would be mixed with dry glue and saffron. The gold was applied with a brush and then burnished, finishing touches sometimes being applied with a stylus, especially to the narrow gold borders enclosing decorated headings. A greenish tone of gold was obtained by adding silver and was used, together with the pure gold, extensively in border paintings. Agate was used for burnishing gold as it was, also, for polishing paper.

Silver was only used, in the main, to depict water in Mughal miniatures whereas it was extensively used for armour and weapons in Persian paintings. An unfinished Qazvin miniature (FIG 72) shows that silver was applied first, before the colours. Unfortunately silver almost invariably turned black through oxydisation, hence the multitude of black pools and streams in Persian miniatures.

Bindings

From earliest times the bookbinder held an important place in the production of splendid manuscripts, the contents of which needed protection. The skill of these craftsmen is evident in bindings spanning the centuries from the Coptic-inspired Arabic book covers of the 9th century right through to the painted lacquer work of 19th-century Iran.

The decoration of the earliest manuscripts of the Qur'ān was austere and simple as were the designs on the covers. Then as the decoration of Qur'ān pages became more ornate, so the angular geometrical designs of intertwining bands extended to the covers. A feature of Islamic bindings is the extra triangular flap attached to the end cover, which was folded round the leaves to tuck inside the front cover, forming a second, plain spine and providing perfect protection from grit and dust. The early intertwining ribbon design had developed by the 13th century into knotted patterns and arabesques. The familiar central oval shield or medallion with pendants and corner pieces also came in about the same time and continued to be used for centuries. This particular book cover design has been used by an Ottoman illuminator as a canopy decoration in a manuscript of the late 15th century (PLATE 27). No doubt it was more familiar to him and more readily to hand to copy than the usual gold arabesque on a blue background.

In the same way that they had developed the art of page illumination, the Persian craftsmen, endowed as they were with a strong sense of pattern and a love of decorative detail, produced distinctive styles of book covers. The 15th century in

METHODS AND MATERIALS

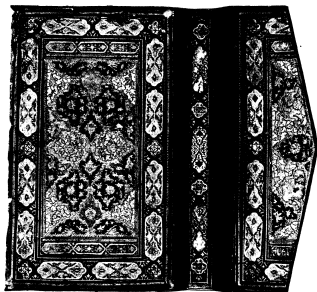


FIG 83 Book-binding doublures
Kulliyāt-i Ahl-i Šīrāzī, 29.8 × 17.8 cm. Persian, Shiraz style, 1581–2. Or. 12864
 (doublures)

Iran was marked by the production of manuscripts which were superb in every detail, not least the bindings, including those produced at provincial centres as well as at the main ateliers in Shiraz and Herat. Designs on bindings from early in the 15th century followed those of Arab manuscripts of the preceding two hundred years but the craftsmen soon developed blind tooled decorations that included animals, birds, plants, arabesques and floral patterns on the outside of the covers with gilded stamped designs on the doublures inside. By the 16th century the decoration of doublures took the form of filigree patterns, cut out of silver, gilt or coloured paper, which were pasted on to a background composed of different colours to form glowing medallions, pendants and corner pieces. This skilled work is well demonstrated in a binding, contemporary with the manuscript it covers, of the poems of Ahl-i Shirāzī, which is dated 989/1581–2. The outside of the cover is of gilded stamped leather with a central medallion, pendants and corner-pieces in sunk panels. The background to the gilt paper filigree pattern (FIG 83) on the doublures is of different colours, including orange, pale green, dark and light blue, and black. The double borders are of inlaid panels in blue and red, the whole enclosed in a rope-work design. As in all decorated bindings, designs extend to the flap, both inside and out.

All through the centuries superb covers were used on manuscripts produced for royal patrons, sometimes with lines of poetry in relief running round the border and giving the name of the binder and the date. Fifteenth-century dated covers prepared for Herat patrons such as Shāhrukh, Bāysunghur, Uzūn Hasan and Sultan Husayn, and for Ibrāhīm Sultan and Pīr Būdāq of Shiraz, are included in the Istanbul libraries. Although, in the miniature of Sultan Husayn in his atelier, (FIG 79), the manuscript he is holding has a stamped gilt cover, the earliest use of lacquer bindings seems to have begun at Herat under his patronage. It is doubtful whether the technique was learned by Persian craftsmen from Chinese originals, although highly-prized Chinese paper was being imported during the second half of the 15th century for use in manuscripts.

Persian bookbinders were among the craftsmen taken to Turkey in the early 16th century where they worked and taught in the Palace studios and workshops. The Ottoman bookbinders, like the Turkish artists, developed their own distinctive styles and patterns for use, both on the outside of the covers and on the doublures. In decorating the latter, they often used brown leather cut in filigree patterns, pasted on to a deep blue background, while the outside was stamped in gilt. They also painted gold patterns directly on to the covers of any particularly fine manuscript which would also be given a protective case with the same designs stamped or painted on it.

Some of the stamps and other tools used by the bookbinders in the Palace studios in Istanbul are usually on display in that city, at both the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art and in the Calligraphy Gallery at the Topkapı Sarayı Museum where reed pens, paper polishers, inkstands, pencases, scissors, knives, brushes and other tools used in the production of fine books can also be seen. In recent years facsimiles of Qur'āns and special modern editions of literary works published in Turkey have been bound in the traditional way, complete with flaps and cases. These covers and cases have been made and decorated with the original 17th- and 18th-century bookbinder's tools and stamps. Covers made in earlier centuries were usually of brown leather but for these special modern editions red is more often used. The central panels of gilt on the outside of Turkish bindings are usually somewhat larger than those of Persian origin and were often double-stamped.

Painted lacquer bindings were increasingly used in the 16th century and some fine examples have survived. These covers were made either of papier-maché or else of layers of pasteboard, glued together, covered with chalk and then painted with layers of transparent lacquer, each polished in turn. This transparent substance was made primarily of gum sandarach oil and linseed oil which were heated and thinned with a resin. Although these covers tend to be easily flaked, cracked or scratched, most collections have good examples. Some were painted with scenes of a ruler hunting or being entertained with music and wine, others had designs incorporating animals, birds and mythical beasts⁽¹⁰⁾ in landscapes, or of angels or floral motifs.

Examples of painted lacquer covers in the British Library include those on a charming manuscript of two poems by Hilālī (Or. 4124) (PLATE 47), contemporary with the manuscript, which is dated 757/1550. Although dated two years after Shah Tahmāsp moved his capital from Tabriz south to Qazvin, to get further away from the

incursions of enemies from the north, these covers are very much in the Tabriz style. Painted in gold and colours on a black background, the main covers show a lion killing a gazelle, while the flap is decorated with flying angels. This cover is in the same style as some examples of painted lacquer work in an album, now in the National Library in Vienna (Cod. mixt. 313) which was originally compiled for the Ottoman Sultan, Murād III. They were, at one time, thought to be bookbindings but it is now considered that they are probably playing cards (*ganjifa*)⁽¹¹⁾. One of the paintings, which is of a mounted polo player escorted by two attendants carrying polo sticks, may even be a portrait of Shah Tahmāsp as his face is singularly similar to that of a kingly figure in various paintings in one of the Tabriz albums (*Hazine* 2165) in the Topkapı Sarayı Library. Each of the eight cards has a cusped arch painted in gold, flanked by a peony arabesque, identical to that which decorates the narrow border round the book cover (Or. 4124) (PLATE 47). The style of the cover and of the cards is so similar they may even be the work of the same artist.

Painted lacquer covers were produced in considerable numbers during the 19th-century Qājār period in Iran, at a time when the tradition of patronage of the arts was revived by Fath 'Alī Shah (d. 1835). He himself was often the subject of the cover paintings, performing daring deeds in battle or on the hunting field, staring full-face out of the painting regardless of the action taking place around him⁽¹²⁾. Easily recognised by his lush black beard and heavily jewelled Qājār crown, he is often painted surrounded by his courtiers and ministers and, occasionally, receiving foreign deputations. Flowers were perhaps the most popular subject of the artists who painted Qājār book covers. Some designs were naturalistic with paintings of roses, sweet sultans, tulips, irises, hyacinths and narcissus⁽¹³⁾ and, occasionally, hazel-nuts; others were stylised in the extreme, some flowers being quite unidentifiable. In contrast, the doublures (inside covers) were usually painted with a single specimen, an iris, hyacinth, tulip or narcissus plant, against a gold background.

Bookbinders in India who learned the art from Persian craftsmen, made much use of painted lacquer covers. Superb examples have survived from the late 16th century, prepared for Akbar, the patron often appearing on them in hunting or court scenes. Other cover designs were similar to the border paintings in later Mughal manuscripts, but even more crowded, with shrines, hunting scenes, battles, durbars and processions all occurring on the same cover. Some Indian binders, particularly those of Lucknow, made great use of gilt paper stamped with floral designs, both on the outer and inner surfaces, and with the additional decoration of pieces of mirror in the corners.

Eighteenth-century Kashmiri leather bindings used the inset gilt paper technique and also direct painting, in gold, on to the covers. The manuscripts would sometimes, like those of Ottoman Turkey, be enclosed in a protective leather case, bearing the same design as that on the binding. Late 18th- or 19th-century lacquered Kashmiri covers sometimes employed floral designs not unlike those of Persian Qājār work and sometimes confused with them. They also used the ubiquitous arabesque, as well as the unmistakable Kashmiri 'paisley' pattern which is such a familiar shawl design.

METHODS AND MATERIALS

- (1) Hazine 2154 in the Topkapi Sarayı Museum Library.
- (2) F.R. Martin, *Miniatures from the Period of Timur in a MS of the Poems of Sultan Ahmad Jalair*, Vienna, 1926.
- (3) D.E. Klimburg-Salter, 'A Sufi Theme in Persian Paintings: The Diwan of Sultan Ahmad Ghalib in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.' pp. 43-84 *Kunst des Orients XI* (1/2) 1976-7.
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Literature

History, tales, legends and fables – the artist's treasury

Tales, legends and fables, historical and scientific works, prose and poetry, have all provided artists, whether of Iran, India or Turkey, with an immense amount of diverse material to illustrate. Ranging from the epic poem of Iran, the *Shāhnāma* (Book of Kings), through fantastic stories about great men of history, moral tales and fables, anecdotes and romantic poems to factual historical and encyclopaedic works, the choice is limitless.

The same tales of a legendary nature which were illustrated in various Persian styles from the early 14th century were part of the literature of the Muslim Sultanate rulers of India in the 15th and 16th centuries and of the Mughal emperors. Turkish literature included versions of Persian works and translations which were illustrated in the Ottoman style.

First and foremost, in Iran, is the *Shāhnāma* with its tales, written in heroic style, of the exploits of great kings and mighty heroes, of battles and celebrations, rescues, romance and courtship, demons and dragons, and the continuous struggle between right and wrong. Some of the earliest surviving Persian miniatures, dating from early in the 14th century, are *Shāhnāma* paintings. For centuries before this, stories of legendary kings and ancient wars and the struggles, defeats, triumphs and glories of a succession of Iranian dynasties had been handed down but it was not until the reign of the Sasanian emperor, Chosroes I (Khusraw) (AD 531–79), that these tales were collected together. They were later written in fuller form by Dānishvār in a Pahlavi (Middle Persian) work which was translated into Arabic in the 8th century AD and into New Persian (Fārsī) in the 10th century. The Sāmānīd ruler Nuḥ II, who came to the throne in AD 976, commissioned Daqīqī to make a poem of the whole epic cycle. After Daqīqī had completed about one thousand couplets, he came to an untimely end and the work was continued by Firdawsī under the patronage of the governor of Tus, which is situated near Mashhad in the north-east of Iran.

Firdawsī completed the work, in some fifty to sixty thousand rhyming couplets, in 1010. He was born in a village near Tus some time after 932, though the date of his birth remains somewhat obscure. His father was a landowner (*dihqān*) as he himself was to become, and his full name was Abu'l-Qāsim Maṣṣūr (or Ḥasan) Firdawsī of Tus. He pays tribute to Daqīqī at the beginning of the *Shāhnāma* and says that he had incorporated the latter's verses into his own work. Firdawsī drew on Dānishvār's compilation, as well as Arabic translations from Pahlavi, and other chronicle literature.

The *Shāhnāma* combines legend and historical fact relating to the four pre-Islamic dynasties, Pishdadian, Kayanian, Ashkanian and Sasanian. The kings of the first two are legendary, beginning with Gayūmars who lived in the mountains and taught his fur-clad subjects the civilised arts. The third dynasty is a mixture of fact and fantasy, assigned chronologically to the five hundred years of Seleucid and Parthian rule which began with the death of Alexander the Great (d. 323 BC). The *Shāhnāma* ends with the Arab invasions and the death of the last of the Sasanian Kings, Yazdigard III, in AD 651.

In Iran, the *Shāhnāma* was probably the one illustrated work which was found in every library and the first to be commissioned by royal or lesser patrons after their accessions or appointments. The earliest to have survived, the Demotte *Shāhnāma* (FIGS 8 and 9) dates from *circa* 1330 and magnificent copies were made for Bāysunghur at Herat in 1429, for Shah Ismā'il and Shah Tahmāsp at Tabriz between *circa* 1525–37 (FIG 39) and for Shah 'Abbās II at Qazvin in *circa* 1577. Apart from royal patrons, those of lesser rank invariably commissioned a copy, so that illustrated manuscripts of the *Shāhnāma* exist from every period and in every style of Persian painting. Not only were manuscripts of the *Shāhnāma* copied and illustrated in Iran, but they were also produced in various regions of India (PLATE 43), where Persian was the principal court language, and in Ottoman Turkey, in both Persian and in Turkish translation.

At an early stage in the epic, the evil King Zūhhāk dreamt that he would be deposed by the young Farīdūn and set out to destroy him. The boy, who was entrusted to a cowherd and fostered by the cow, Birmāya, eventually captured Zūhhāk whom he had nailed alive inside Mount Damavand. To this day, if there is a thunderstorm in the vicinity of the mountain, people say that the noise is caused by Zūhhāk trying to break his way out. Many other authors and poets introduced *Shāhnāma* tales into their work, and a miniature of Farīdūn riding the cow and escorting Zūhhāk in chains to Mount Damavand (PLATE 15) illustrates a version used by Asadī in the *Garshāspnāma*. When the time came to divide his kingdom between his three sons, Farīdūn turned himself into a raging dragon and accosted them as they returned home from seeking wives in the Yemen. His intention was to test their courage and commonsense and when the eldest, Salm, took fright and galloped away and the second, Tūr, foolishly took on the dragon single-handed, he gave the best part of his kingdom, Iran, to the youngest, Īraj, who had shown intelligence and courage (FIG 39) by reasoning with the dragon. Salm and Tūr, fiercely jealous of Īraj, murdered him and thus began the wars between Iran and Turan and the feuds which rage continuously throughout the *Shāhnāma*. It was during the reign of Minūchihr, son of Īraj, who set out to avenge his father's death, that the greatest hero of the *Shāhnāma*, Rustam, first came into the epic. His exploits, which take place intermittently in the poem, covered the reigns of no less than eight monarchs spanning three centuries. Firdawsi's richness of imagination, splendid exaggeration and delight in imagery and command of language are nowhere better displayed than in his descriptions of Rustam and his adventures. Rustam's horse, Rakhsh, which shared so many of his exploits, finally dying with him in the pit of spears (PLATE 16), is vividly described as having eyesight so keen, it could see an ant's foot, laid on black

cloth on a moonless night, two leagues away.

Of Rustam himself, 'in height a cypress tree, in wrath a lion, in strength an elephant', Firdawsī uses the game of polo to describe his feats in battle when he lassoed his enemy and snatched him from the saddle (FIG 30) as being 'like a ball struck by a polo stick'. Many of Rustam's adventures took place during the reign of Kay Kā'ūs, some of the most famous being the seven trials that Rustam had to undergo to rescue the foolish king who had been captured and blinded by the demons of Mazandaran. In the first trial Rustam slept while Rakhsh killed a marauding lion (FIG 38) and in the seventh he killed the White Demon (FIG 42), the leader of all the demons. Having rescued Kay Kā'ūs and restored his sight, he then captured the King of Mazandaran who proceeded to turn himself into a rock boulder (PLATE 17). Rustam is always instantly recognisable for the tiger skin he wears (FIG 38) and the leopard head decoration on his helmet. In a work on the fanciful exploits of 'Ali (Add. 19766), written in the style of the *Shāhnāma*, the artist has given 'Ali the same costume (PLATE 42).

Another story featuring Rustam which is often illustrated concerns Bizhan who fell in love with Manizha, the daughter of the enemy ruler Afrāsiyāb. Bizhan was found out and thrown into a pit, being finally rescued by Rustam who was travelling in enemy territory in disguise. This is a good example of the Persian artist's method of showing all the action by taking the side off the underground pit (FIG 16) to expose the manacled figure of Bizhan. This is one of the subjects constantly illustrated, from as early as 1330, the date of this miniature, right through the centuries.

Kay Kā'ūs, who caused Rustam and others so much trouble by his reckless and zany exploits (including a journey to the heavens to fight the angels, seated on a throne borne up by eagles), had a wickedly mischief-making wife, Sūdāba. She accused her stepson Siyāvush of trying to seduce her which he fervently denied, finally having to ride through fire to prove his innocence (PLATE 7). Unhappily, like Īrāj, Siyāvush was murdered while still young (FIG 71). Where each drop of his blood fell, a plant sprang up, a species of maiden-hair, still known today as the plant of Siyāvush.

Alexander the Great (Iskandar in Persian), who destroyed the Achaemenid empire in 331 BC, was regarded in later times in Iran not just as an alien conqueror but as a hero, a king and a philosopher. His exploits, historical and legendary, are narrated in several classics of Persian literature, for, besides Firdawsī, the poets Nizāmī and Amīr Khusrāw each devoted one of their five poems (*Khamsa*) to him.

Most of these legends stem from the 3rd century anonymous Alexander Romance known as the Pseudo-Callisthenes, so-called because in one manuscript it is attributed to Callisthenes, the nephew of Aristotle, who was Alexander's official historian. A Middle Persian (Pahlavī) version, which has not survived, was translated first into Syriac and then into Arabic from which, in turn, it was translated into other languages including Persian and Turkish. These later versions differ from the Pseudo-Callisthenes in various ways. Alexander is portrayed as a Persian, it being claimed that his mother, daughter of Philip of Macedon, had borne him to the King of Iran and he was therefore rightful heir to the throne which his half-brother, Darius

III, had usurped. There are also accounts of apocryphal journeys through Central Asia to China and a visit to the Ka'ba at Mecca.

The sections concerning Alexander in manuscripts of the *Shāhnāma*, for some reason, are sparsely illustrated in spite of the opportunities the stories provide for artists to paint so many varied subjects which include battles, celebrations, courtship, magic, demons, dragons and journeys by sea and over land. One notable exception is the copy of the *Shāhnāma* produced at Rajaur in Kashmir (Add. 18804) in 1719 in which the Alexander stories are fully illustrated, including the pursuit of Darius across the Euphrates (PLATE 43).

The *Khamṣa* (Five Poems) by Niẓāmī (d. 1209) consists of the *Makhzan al-asrār* (Treasury of Secrets), the romantic poems *Khusraw u Shīrīn* and *Laylā va Majnūn*, the *Haft Paykar* (Seven Portraits) and, finally, the *Iskandarnāma* (Book of Alexander). The latter is divided into two parts, the first of which, the *Sharafnāma*, is concerned with Alexander's conquests, both historical and legendary, and the second, the *Iqbāl-nāma*, with Alexander the philosopher and sage. In his introduction Niẓāmī explains that, whilst he made every effort to include the historical facts, he had to use the legends too, otherwise the poem would have been reduced to a few couplets.

Among the anecdotes in the *Makhzan al-asrār* is that of the old woman who accosted Sultan Sanjar, accusing him of being unable to control his soldiers who chased her cow, a story which is frequently illustrated (PLATE 2 and FIG 12). The second poem is concerned with the love of the Iranian ruler, Khusraw, for the Armenian princess, Shīrīn, who is first made aware of him by seeing his portrait hanging from a tree (PLATE 24 and FIG 23). They eventually meet on the hunting grounds (FIG 21), the plains where Shīrīn, accompanied by her women companions, delights to take part in masculine pursuits such as hunting (FIG 73) and polo. In this poem there is a story within a story, of the love of the sculptor Farhād for Shīrīn, and a beautiful painting in the Herat 1494 *Khamṣa* (Or. 6810) (PLATE 9) illustrates Farhād visiting Shīrīn. Khusraw, madly jealous, assigned Farhād the task of cutting a road through Mount Bisitun to Shīrīn's palace. Shīrīn used to visit Farhād (PLATE 21) to encourage him in his mammoth task and one day when her horse became weary, Farhād carried both Shīrīn and the horse on his shoulders (FIG 28).

The Ottoman Turkish poet, Shaykhī (Şeyhī), wrote a version of the same poem, of which there are two illustrated copies in the British Library, separated in date by about a century. The earlier manuscript (Or. 14010), dating from the late 15th century, includes a charming painting of Farhād running to greet Shīrīn (PLATE 21) (p. 136) and the other (Or. 2708), of the late 16th century, an illustration of Shīrīn looking at the portrait of Khusraw (PLATE 24). The variety and degree of sophistication of painting styles can be demonstrated by illustrated copies of the *Khamṣa* of Niẓāmī. Besides the Ottoman Turkish miniatures, above, they range from the superb paintings in the manuscript (Or. 2265) prepared for Shah Tahmāsp between 1539 and 1543 (PLATE 10), through that of the Mughal emperor Akbar (Or. 12208) dated 1595 (PLATE 38), and include provincial work of a simple nature (FIGS 18 and 61) and also manuscripts produced for patrons, such as the governor of Yazd (FIG 28).

The third poem, *Laylā va Majnūn*, concerns the youth, Majnūn, who fell

hopelessly in love with Laylā, a girl from a rival tribe. Distraught because he was not allowed to marry her, he took himself off to the desert (FIG 18) to live with the animals. His favourite animal and special pet was the gazelle, for its eyes reminded him of Laylā's. One day when he met a hunter who had trapped some gazelles, he traded his horse and clothes for them (FIG 27) and set them free. One of his plans to enable him to visit the encampment where Laylā lived was to persuade an old woman to pretend he was her deranged son and to lead him there in chains (FIG 43). In the beautiful painting from the Shah Tahmāsp Nizāmī, Majnūn is being set on by dogs and stoned by children while the life of the encampment, whether milking, spinning or cooking, goes on amongst the tents in the background. Another painting in this manuscript is the subject, so often portrayed, of Majnūn, gaunt and half-naked, amongst the animals in the desert, his pet gazelle near him.

The *Haft Paykar* (Seven Portraits), the fourth of the five poems, is concerned with the king, Bahrām Gūr, who was famous for his hunting prowess and his seven beautiful wives. Seven pavilions were built for him, each in the colour appropriate to the seven princesses who occupied them. He visited each in turn, day by day, and it is the Tartar Princess in the Green Pavilion who figures in an Ottoman Turkish miniature (PLATE 23). A beautiful palace was built for Bahrām Gūr when he was a youth, and one of the paintings of this subject reflects the contemporary building methods used at that time (1494) (FIG 36) as does another, from the *Zafarnāma*, of the building of the great mosque at Samarkand (FIG 34), a miniature also in the Later Herat style, possibly *circa* 1580. The same kind of tools, such as hods, chisels, mortar carriers, spades and even the type of scaffolding, can still be seen in use today. Whether of scenes of life in the court, (PLATES 1, 14 and 40), encampment (PLATE 28 and FIG 43), street, mosque or bazaar (FIG 50), miniature paintings are, in themselves, records of day-to-day life, invaluable in the study of costume, of architecture, of methods of working, of recreations (PLATES 6, 30 and 34, FIG 53) and of family life.

Bahrām Gūr's love of hunting (PLATE 10) and his skill as a marksman (FIG 37), as related both in the *Shāhnāma* and in the *Khamsa* of Nizāmī, provide many incidents which have proved dear to the artists' hearts over the centuries. The display of marksmanship, which was received by Bahrām Gūr's harp-playing love, Fitna (Azāda in the *Shāhnāma*), so scornfully, his subsequent rage and her final joke (PLATE 20) (*see* p. 124) were all subjects for illustration, as were his defeat of a dragon and his bravery in killing lions to attain his crown.

The fifth poem, the *Iskandarnāma*, is concerned with Alexander the Great who also figures in the *Shāhnāma* but, apart from the battle against Darius (PLATES 8 and 43, FIG 35), most of the stories in the *Khamsa* are different from those in Firdawsī's version. Nizāmī related the story of the polo stick and ball and the sesame seed (PLATE 32) (p. 180) and also that of Queen Nushāba who, hearing that Alexander was on his way to visit her in disguise, had his portrait secretly painted so that she would recognise him (FIG 13).

Animals figure extensively in stories; sometimes they are the chief characters and at others times mere adjuncts, as in the tale of Majnūn in the desert. Some adventures and romances in which humans predominate include hostile (PLATE 38),

servile (PLATE 42) and helpful⁽¹⁾ creatures of one sort or another. In fables, such as those of *Kalīla va Dimna* (FIG 14) or a version of the same work, the *Avdār-i Suhayfī*, animals are the main protagonists and the relaters of moral tales. In them, the lion is either tyrannical or a wise ruler (FIG 14), the fox cunning, the cat treacherous and the jackal crafty. Some are stupid, such as the crane which, copying a hawk's swoop on its prey, dives beak-first into the mud of a river and is caught by a washerman (PLATE 39). The collection of fables known as *Kalīla va Dimna*, or the Fables of Bidpāy, is the Persian version made about AD 1145 by Abū'l-Ma'ālī Naṣr Allāh of tales which were mostly derived from much older Indian stories. The Bidpāy of the work's alternative title was a legendary Indian sage who lived in a mountain cave and whom his king, Dābīshlim, used to visit to seek advice. Bidpāy used fables, in which most of the characters were animals, to illustrate his maxims, with the two jackals, Kalīla and Dimna, acting as his mouthpiece. However, they were not only narrators of tales but sometimes the chief villains eventually brought to justice before the king (the lion). The *Avdār-i Suhayfī* is a version written in more ornate style by Ḥusayn Vā'iz Kāshifī (d. 1504-5).

An unusual manuscript is an Ottoman Turkish version, *Sharaf al-insān* by Lamī'i, of the Arabic work *Ikhwān al-safā*, in which animals, birds, reptiles and insects (FIG 54), angered by the way they were exploited by mankind, decided to place their complaint before Solomon, using the king of the jinns as their intermediary.

In addition to the historical sections of the *Shāhnāma*, many works whether memoirs, chronicles of campaigns or histories, were written and illustrated in Iran, Turkey and Mughal India, often at the behest of the ruler concerned. A history of Shah Ismā'il I (d. 1524), by an unknown author, in the British Library (Or. 3248), includes interesting illustrations, such as that of Ismā'il's army fording a river (PLATE 19) or of an omen being taken from a fight between two packs of dogs. The history of Akbar (Or. 12988) produced in his academy in 1603-4, has many paintings illustrating the text which begins with Adam and his progeny and continues through the period of Bābur and Ḥumāyūn (PLATE 37). Similarly, the *Zafarnāma* is a history of Tīmūr and his campaigns and conquests (PLATE 41 and FIG 34). Besides long historical works, there are others of campaigns such as that in which Imām Qūlī Khān won back Hormuz in 1623 (Add. 7801) from the Portuguese, and which includes paintings of sea-battles (FIG 46). The Ottoman Turkish preference for factual historical works is evident in the account of the campaign led by Lālā Muṣṭafā Pasha (Add. 22011) in 1578, when he won battles against the Iranian army (PLATE 28) and the Georgians.

Besides the fables of Bidpāy (*Kalīla va Dimna*), the moral tales of Sa'dī (d. 1292) were often copied and illustrated. Of his two works, the *Gulistān* (Rose-garden) was more often illustrated than the *Bustān* (Orchard). The *Gulistān* is a collection of anecdotes, written in prose with a verse ending, which illustrate an ethical truth. One of these, of the old wrestler who withheld one trick from his pupil and used it to good account when the youth became arrogant (PLATE 34) (p. 191), is often illustrated. Sa'dī included himself in several stories, such as the occasion when he and his companion quarrelled during a discussion and had to seek the advice of a wise man to settle their argument (PLATE 5). In common with most libraries with collections of

oriental manuscripts, the British Library has several illustrated copies of the *Gulistan* of different centuries and styles of painting (PLATES 5, 13, 14 and 34, FIGS 51 and 67).

Besides the fanciful works concerned with legends about famous historical figures such as the *Hamzanāma* (FIG 66) (p. 190), *Khāvarnāma* (PLATE 42) (p. 209) and *Hamla-yi Haydarī* (PLATE 44), there were other full-length narratives such as *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā* by Jāmī, a poem in rhyming couplets based on a theme from the Qur'ān in which Potiphar's wife (Zulaykhā) became infatuated with Joseph (Yūsuf). Frantically yearning for him and constantly dreaming about him, she had to be manacled for her own safety. In her endeavours to attract him, she built a house for him from which he fled, and left him in a garden at night with her women companions to whom he read improving literature (PLATE 33). Zulaykhā's women companions on one occasion were overcome by the beauty of Yūsuf who walked through a room where they were peeling oranges, so disturbing their equanimity, they cut their fingers (FIG 25). Eventually, prematurely aged, Zulaykhā lived in a reed hut by the road travelled by Yūsuf but he did not recognise her then, or, at first, when she was brought before him. Her youth was eventually restored to her, and they were reconciled, to the evident astonishment of the women peeping at them from above (FIG 64).

A Turkish work on the martyrs of the Prophet Muḥammad's family, *Ḥadiqat al-su'adā* (*Hadikat üs-süada*) by Fuzûlî, which was based on a Persian original, begins with the expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden and relates stories of the earlier prophets, including Abraham (Ibrāhīm). One of these concerns the sacrifice of Ishmael (not Isaac in this version), another the miracle which saved Abraham after he had been catapulted into a fire by order of Nimrod. An oasis, with plants and water, was created in the middle of the fire (PLATE 25) and in illustrations, Abraham is sometimes seated in the catapult, sometimes in the oasis, but is always observed by Nimrod and Satan (Iblis) standing in the background.

Romantic poems were, throughout the centuries, constantly copied and illustrated, particularly in Iran, where artists delighted in painting the subjects of courtship and daring deeds. *Vaqf va Gulshāh* (FIG 2), the earliest surviving illustrated Persian manuscript (circa 1225), is a typical example of this kind of romantic poem, as is *Humāy va Humāyūn* of the late 14th century (PLATE 1 and FIG 12). The artist of the latter, Junayd, painted idealised romantic compositions synonymous with the term 'Persian miniature', such as a garden scene with people picking roses, the ground covered in flowering plants, birds flying in a golden sky, the two lovers together, listening to music and drinking wine. Another is the interior scene in the painting of Humāy at the court of the ruler of China (PLATE 1) which is probably a faithful rendering of the palace of the artist's patron, Sultān Aḥmad, at Baghdad. Nizāmī's *Khusrāw u Shīrīn* provides similar subjects, in which gardens and garden pavilions, moonlit nights, music and wine, play their part. Versions or translations of Persian romantic literature were illustrated in a Persianised way in Turkey, the preference for chronicles and factual historical works soon taking precedence, whilst in India, both the Sultanate patrons and the Mughal Emperor Akbar had Persian texts copied and illustrated.

Collections of poems, whether of one poet or anthologies of the works of several,

LITERATURE

were extensively illustrated, particularly in Iran. A single line with an allusion to chess (PLATE 6) or a verse about lovers or friendship (FIG 40), teacher and pupil (PLATE 18), a poet at work (PLATE 26), a king and his courtiers (PLATE 40) or a celebration (FIG 29) provided subjects for the artists. Volumes of the poems of Ḥāfiẓ were extensively copied and illustrated in Kashmir in the 19th century and those of the poet Navā'ī in Turkey, in the first part of the 16th century. Navā'ī (d. 1502), the friend and official of the great patron of Herat, Sultan Ḥusayn, was a patron himself, as well as a statesman and poet. He wrote in Eastern Turkish, also known as Turki or Chaghatay, and did much to perfect the language as a literary medium. Two copies of the collection of his poems, the *Gharā'ib al-ṣiḡhar*, in the British Library (Or. 13061 and Or. 5346), are illustrated with scenes of entertainment (FIG 52), polo (FIG 53), celebrations, archery practice and hunting.

In the mid-17th century, albums became increasingly popular and illustrated manuscripts, particularly in India and Turkey were, in the main, superseded by collections of portraits and single paintings. Manuscripts were still copied and illustrated in the more provincial areas of India in the late 17th and 18th centuries, as were court chronicles at Istanbul. Manuscript production in the 18th century in Iran, owing to the turbulent state of the country, was virtually non-existent, except under the patronage of Karīm Khān Zand (d. 1779) in Shiraz, and it was not until Fath 'Alī Shāh (d. 1835) revived the system of patronage, that illustrated works were once more produced.

(1) N.M. Titley, *Dragons in Persian, Mughal and Turkish Art*, London, 1981, p. 29, PLATE 9.

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Index of manuscripts by location

BALTIMORE

Walters Art Gallery

- Gharīb al-dunyā* by Āzārī. Persian. Herat.
1613. 14 miniatures. 10.652, pp. 110, 112, FIG 44.
Khamse of Nizāmī (see also London, British Library, Or. 12208).
Persian text. Mughal. 1595. 37 miniatures. W.613. p. 194.
Zafarnāma by Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī. Persian. Herat.
Ms = 1467.6 double-page miniatures added ca. 1480–90?, TL
6.1950. pp. 50, 74, 75–76, 255, FIG 34.

BERLIN

Museum für Islamische Kunst

- Anthology*. Persian. Shiraz. 1420. 39 miniatures. J.4628.
pp. 50, 58, FIG 21.
Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz
Album paintings. Persian. 15th century. Diez A.71 (folios 3,
16 and 38). p. 26. Diez A.72 (folio 29). p. 47.

BOMBAY

Prince of Wales Museum of Western India

- Kalpasūtra* and *Kālakāṣṭhāra kathā*. Sanskrit. Western India.
Early 15th century. 55.65. pp. 162, 166, 167, 180, FIG 57.

CAIRO

Bibliothèque Égyptienne

- Shāhnāma* of Firdawsi. Persian. Shiraz. Muzaffarid style.
1393. 67 miniatures. p. 41.

CAMBRIDGE

St John's College Library

- Khamse* of Nizāmī. Persian. Shiraz. 1541. 28 miniatures. Ms.
1434. pp. 95, 184.

CHICAGO

The Art Institute

- Khamse* of Amīr Khusrāw. Persian text. Western India.
Sultanate style. Mid-15th century. Detached miniature.
62.640. pp. 167, 168, FIG 60.

COFFENHAGEN

Royal Library

- Kitāb al-aghānī* by Abū'l-Faraj al-Isfahānī. Arabic text. Mosul.
Mesopotamian style. 1219. Cod. Arab. CXLVIII. p. 162,
FIG 58.

CHESTER

Beatty Library

- Akbarnāma* by Abū'l-Fazl ibn Mubārak. (See also London,
British Library, Or. 12988). Persian text. Mughal ca. 1603–4.
61 miniatures. Ind. 3. p. 193.
Composite work (see also London, British Library Or. 2780).
Persian. Shiraz? 1397. 5 miniatures. P. 114. p. 45.
Drām of Fāryābī. Persian. Herat. 1614. 3 miniatures. p. 112.
Gay a Chāghay by 'Arifī. Persian. Herat. 1528. No miniatures.
Illuminated pages. P. 194. p. 79.
History of the Safavids by Murtaza Qūllī. Persian. Isfahan.
1667–8. 22 miniatures. P. 279. p. 124.

- Khamse* of Nizāmī. Persian. Baghdad or Shiraz. 1463. 19
miniatures. P. 137. p. 62.

- Persian. Shiraz. 1529. 21 miniatures. P. 195. p. 180.
— Persian. Shiraz. 1529–30. 33 miniatures. P. 196. pp. 95, 184.
Kitāb fi ma'rifat al-ḥayāt al-bandarīyya by Al-Jazārī. Persian
text. Mughal. ca. 1650. Ind. 24. p. 176.
Nagīm al-'ulūm (author unknown). Persian text. Deccani.
Bijapur. 1570. 876 miniatures. Ind. 2. pp. 183, 184.
Nashātnāma by Alā'ī. Persian. Qum. 1599. 109 miniatures.
P. 255. p. 110.

- Shāhnāma* of Firdawsi. Persian. Isfahan. ca. 1650–5.
21 miniatures. P. 270. p. 123.

- Shāhnāma* of Firdawsi (fragment). Persian. Qazvin. 14
contemporary miniatures, 2 others added by Muḥammad
Zamān. ca. 1675. Late 16th century. P. 277. pp. 108, 109.
Sāx a Gadān by Naw'ī. Persian. Isfahan style. ca. 1630. 10
miniatures. P. 268. pp. 121, 123, FIG 47.
Ta'rikh-i Jāhān-dār (author unknown). Persian. Isfahan style.
1683. 17 miniatures. P. 278. pp. 124, 125, FIG 48.
Ta'rikh-i Tabarī. Persian. Herat style. 1470. 4 miniatures.
P. 144. p. 61.

DURHAM

University Library

- Gulistan* of Sa'dī. Persian. Herat. 1474. 9 miniatures, altered
and added to in Ottoman Turkey, ca. 1520. Or. Pers. 1.
pp. 141, 142, FIG 51.

EDINBURGH

University Library

- Jamī' al-tawārīkh* by Rashīd al-Dīn. Arabic text. Tabriz.
Ilkhānīd style. 1306–7. 70 miniatures. Or. Ms. 20. pp. 19, 20,
22, FIG 5.

ISTANBUL

Söleymaniye Library

- Kafile ca Dimna*, *Marsabdin-nāma* and *Sindbadnāma*.
Miniatures. Persian. Shiraz. ca. 1420. Sü. Fatih 3682. pp. 48,
49.

Topkapı Sarayı Museum Library

- Album* Hazine 2152. pp. 26, 216, 221, FIG 68.
— Hazine 2153. pp. 26, 216, 221, FIG 11.
— Hazine 2160. pp. 216, 221, 221, 221, 221, 221.
— Hazine 2161. pp. 84, 221, FIG 73.
— Hazine 2162. p. 89.
— Hazine 2165. p. 84.
Anthology. Persian. Bukhara style. ca. 1550. 5 miniatures.
Revān 1964. p. 89, FIG 40.
— Persian. Shiraz style. 1441–2. 23 miniatures. Revān 1976.
p. 46, FIG 19.
Dvān of Hafiz. Persian. Isfahan style. ca. 1640–1. 555
miniatures. Hazine 1010. p. 121.

INDEX OF MANUSCRIPTS BY LOCATION

- Divân-i Husaynî* (i.e. Sultan Husayn). Eastern Turkish text. Later Herat style. 1492. 4 miniatures. E. H. 1636. pp. 72, 144, 235, 148, fig. 79.
- Gorshadnâme* by Asadi. Persian. Tabriz? 1354. 5 miniatures. Hazine 674. p. 22, fig. 7.
- Jami' al-tawarikh* by Rashid al-Din. Persian text dated 1314. Tabriz. 142 miniatures, some added later, ca. 1432, at Herat. Hazine 1653. pp. 19, 37.
- Persian text dated 1317. Tabriz. 195 miniatures, some added later, ca. 1432, at Herat. Hazine 1654. p. 19.
- Kalila va Dimna* by Abu'l-Ma'ali Naṣr Allāh. Persian. Herat. 1429. 26 miniatures. Revan 1022. p. 54, fig. 22.
- Khamo* of Amir Khusraw. Persian. Baghdad. 1463. 8 miniatures. Revan 1021. p. 62, fig. 29.
- Persian. Later Herat style. 1496. Double-page hunting miniature (another painting from this manuscript = Freer Gallery of Art. 37-27). Hazine 676. p. 133.
- Khamo* of Nizami. Persian. Shiraz or South Provincial. 1440. 51 miniatures. Hazine 774. pp. 164, 165.
- Persian. Herat. 1445-6. 13 miniatures. Hazine 781. pp. 38, 144, 225, 255, fig. 13.
- Persian. Herat. 1446. 20 miniatures. Hazine 786. p. 61, fig. 27.
- Persian. Yazd. 1446-7. 22 miniatures. Revan 866. p. 61, fig. 28.
- Persian. Baghdad. 1461. 16 miniatures. Hazine 761. pp. 47, 61, 69, 63.
- Persian. Tabriz. 1482. 19 miniatures. Hazine 762. p. 71.
- Persian. Transoxiana. Provincial style. 1501. 18 miniatures. Revan 865. p. 78.
- Persian. Shiraz. 1503-4. 29 miniatures. Hazine 784. p. 92.
- Persian. Shiraz. 1538. 24 miniatures. Hazine 765. pp. 95, 184.
- Kaliliyyat* of Hafiz-i Abru. Persian. Herat. ca. 1430. 20 miniatures. B. 282. pp. 19, 57, 58, fig. 25.
- Nasrnamo* by Ali of Gallipoli. Ottoman Turkish. 41 miniatures. 1584. Hazine 1365. p. 151.
- Shahnâme* of Firdawsi. Persian. Shiraz. Inju style. 1330. 90 miniatures. Hazine 1479. pp. 38, 39, 229, fig. 15 and 77.
- Persian. Shiraz. Muzaffarid style. 1371. Hazine 1511. pp. 16, 41, fig. 16.
- Persian. Turkman style. 1494. 65 miniatures. Hazine 1507. p. 92.
- Persian. Turkman style. Late 15th century. 52 miniatures. Hazine 1515. p. 66, fig. 31.
- Persian. Shiraz. Late 16th century. 38 miniatures. Hazine 1475. pp. 96, 102, fig. 42.
- Shah-i Nafi* by Musaffi ibn Yusuf Zarfi. Ottoman Turkish. 1594-5. 3 vols. 249 miniatures. Hazine 1221-3. p. 148.
- Sarvânâme* by Luqman. Ottoman Turkish. ca. 1582-3. 437 miniatures. Hazine 1344. p. 243.
- Vaqo'at Gulshah* by 'Ayyūqī. Persian text. Baghdad? ca. 1225. 71 miniatures. Hazine 841. pp. 15, 16, 35, 36, fig. 2.
- University Library
- Albaw*. Persian. F. 1422. pp. 83, 135.
- Astronomical works*. Persian. Shiraz. 1411. 33 miniatures and drawings. F. 1418. pp. 47, 48.
- Bayân-i manâzil-i safar-i Irâqiyah-i Sultân Salâyân Khân* by Maṭrâqchi Naṣṣūh. Ottoman Turkish. ca. 1537. 128 miniatures. T. 5964. p. 151.
- Dastân-i Farrukh u Humd* by Sharif. Ottoman Turkish. 1601. 34 miniatures. T. 1975. p. 148.
- Qissa-i shah-i shatrûn* by Farimaz ibn Khudâdâd. Ottoman Turkish. 1589-90. 64 miniatures. T. 5903. p. 147.
- KANSAS CITY
- William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art
- Shahnâme* of Firdawsi. Detached miniature (Demotte). Persian. Tabriz. Ilkhanid. ca. 1330. 33-60. p. 22, fig. 9.
- LENINGRAD
- Saltykov Schedrin Public Library
- History of the Imams*. Persian. Tabriz. 1570. p. 79.
- Shahnâme* of Firdawsi. Persian. Shiraz. Inju style. Ms. 239. p. 39.
- State Hermitage Museum
- Khamo* of Nizami. Persian. Herat. 1431. 38 miniatures. VP 1000. p. 38, fig. 26.
- LISBON
- Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian
- Miscellany. Persian. Shiraz. 1410-11. LA161. p. 47.
- LONDON
- British Library
- 'Ad'ib al-makhlûqât* by Qazvinî, abridged version by Sûrûfî. Ottoman Turkish. 16th century. 150 miniatures and diagrams. Add. 7894. pp. 133, 149.
- 'Ad'ib al-makhlûqât* by Muḥammad ibn Da'ūd Shādīyābādī. Persian text. Mandu. Sultanate style. 1509. Miniatures and diagrams. Or. 13718. pp. 171, 176.
- Akhar-nâmâ* by Abu'l-Faḡl ibn Muḥarrir. *See also, Chester Beatty Library, Ind. 3* Persian text. Mughal. 1603-4. 40 miniatures. Or. 12988. pp. 192, 193, 194, 205, 208, 226, 237, 256, 241, plate 37, fig. 76.
- Albaw*. Persian. Qajar. mid-19th century. 23 portraits and sketches. Or. 4938. pp. 128, 221, 223, figs. 49 and 74.
- Ottoman Turkish. ca. 1600. 28 miniatures. Or. 2709. pp. 107, 152, 157, plate 29.
- Anthology*. Persian. Shirvan (Shamakha). 1468. One double-page and 7 single miniatures. Add. 16561. pp. 64, 66, 240, 241, plate 6.
- Persian text. Kashmiri style. 1815. 19 miniatures. Or. 5599. p. 212.
- Judeo-Persian text. Qajar style. 19th century. 5 miniatures. Or. 10194. p. 130.
- Asvâr-i Sukayr* by Husayn Vâ'iz. Persian text. Mughal. 1604 and 1610-11. 36 miniatures. Add. 18579. pp. 186, 192, 205, 206, 258, plate 39, 40.
- Astronomical treatise* by al-Birûnî. Persian text. Maragha. Ilkhanid style. 1286. 27 miniatures. Add. 7697. p. 17, fig. 4.
- Bahâr-nâmâ*, trans. into Persian by 'Abd al-Rahîm. Mughal. ca. 1590. 143 miniatures. Or. 3714. pp. 182, 187, 192, 193, 194, 237, plate 36.
- Composite work* (see also Chester Beatty Library p. 114). Persian. Shiraz? 1397. Or. 2780. pp. 45, 46, 47, plate 3.
- Car-sar work*. Ottoman Turkish. Late 18th century. Or. 13763 A-D. p. 243.
- Dârârnâmâ* by Abu Tâhir Târisûsi. Persian text. Mughal. ca. 1580. 157 miniatures. Or. 4615. pp. 191, 192, 193, 194, 205, plate 35.
- Divân* of Bâqî. Ottoman Turkish text. Isfahan style miniatures. 1636. 8 miniatures. Add. 7922. pp. 121, 146, plate 18.
- Ottoman Turkish. Late 16th century. 9 miniatures. Or. 7084. pp. 146, 147, plate 26.
- Divân* of Hafiz. Persian text. 1451. Chinese paper, no miniatures. Add. 7759. p. 241, fig. 82.

INDEX OF MANUSCRIPTS BY LOCATION

- Persian text. Kashmiri style. 1801. 16 miniatures. Add. 7764. p. 212.
- Persian text. Kashmiri style. 18th century. 112 miniatures. Add. 7763. 212.
- Diwān of Ḥāfiṣ Sa'd*. Persian. Baghdad 1459–60. No miniatures. Finely illuminated. Or. 11846. p. 62.
- Faḥṣnāma* by 'Imrānī Shīrāzī. Judeo-Persian text. Isfahan style. Late 17th century. 7 miniatures. Or. 13704. p. 130.
- Garshaspnāma* by Asadī. Persian. Qazvin style. 1573. 8 miniatures. Or. 12985. pp. 106, 107, 108, 109, 252. PLATE 15.
- Gharīb al-gharīb* by Navā'i. Ottoman Turkish. ca. 1520–30. One double-page and five single miniatures. Or. 5346. pp. 142, 144, 258. FIG 53.
- Ottoman Turkish. ca. 1520–30. 6 miniatures. Or. 13061. pp. 142, 143, 144, 238, 258. FIG 52, 80.
- Gulistan* of Sa'di. Persian. Shiraz style. 1513. 13 miniatures. Or. 11847. pp. 92, 93. PLATE 13.
- Persian. Court Turkman style. ca. 1460. 8 miniatures. Or. 13949. pp. 63, 64, 66. PLATE 5.
- Persian. Bukhara and Mughal styles. 1567–8 (Mughal miniatures probably added in reign of Jahāngīr (d. 1627)). 13 miniatures. Or. 5302. pp. 89, 91, 190, 191, 235. PLATE 34.
- Persian. Shiraz. 1587–8. One double-page miniature. Or. 8734. pp. 94, 96.
- Persian text. Sub-Imperial Mughal style. 26 miniatures. ca. 1605. Or. 13942. p. 208. FIG 67.
- Ḥadiqat al-mulūk* by 'Uṣmān-zāda Aḥmad (called) Ta'ib. Ottoman Turkish. 19 century. 32 portraits. Or. 9505. pp. 159, 160.
- Ḥadiqat al-salāt* by Fuzūlī. Ottoman Turkish. Late 16th or early 17th century. 11 miniatures. Or. 7307. pp. 148, 257.
- Ottoman Turkish. Late 16th century. 13 miniatures. Or. 12009. pp. 146, 257. PLATE 25.
- Ḥafī Paṣkar* by Nizāmī. Judeo-Persian text. Isfahan style. Late 17th century. 13 miniatures. Or. 4730. p. 130.
- Ḥamle-yi Ḥaydarī* by Muḥammad Rafī Bāzīl. Persian text. Kashmiri. 19th century. 80 miniatures. Or. 2936. p. 212. PLATE 44.
- Historical work* (author and title unknown). Persian. 1469. No miniatures. Or. 1566. p. 45.
- Ḥamāyūnnāma* by 'Alī Cheleblī. Ottoman Turkish. 1589. One double-page and 163 single miniatures. Add. 15153. pp. 136, 145.
- Husn a Dil* (author unknown). Persian. Tabriz. 16th century. One double-page and 7 single miniatures. Or. 11843. p. 86.
- Ḥusn a Dil*, history of (author unknown). Persian. Isfahan style. Mid-17th century. One double-page and 19 single miniatures. Or. 3248. pp. 123, 126, 256. PLATE 19.
- by Qasimī. Persian. Tabriz style. 1541. 13 miniatures. Add. 7784. p. 86. PLATE 12.
- Jāris-nāma* by Qadrī. Persian. Isfahan style. 1697. 10 miniatures. Add. 7801. pp. 114, 124, 126. FIG 45.
- Kallā va Dimna* by Abū'l-Ma'ālī Naṣr Allāh. Persian text. Shiraz? 1307–8. 67 miniatures. Or. 13506. pp. 8, 36, 37, 38, 39, 256. FIG 14.
- Kānām* of 'Atā'i. Ottoman Turkish. 1738–9. 30 miniatures. Or. 13882. p. 151. FIG 55.
- Kānām* of Khvājū Kirmānī. Persian. Baghdad. Jalayirid style. 1396. 9 miniatures. Add. 18113. pp. 7, 8, 26, 27, 30, 31, 33, 47, 56, 58, 62, 223. PLATE 1, FIG 12.
- Kānām* of Nizāmī. Persian. Baghdad. Jalayirid style. 1386 and 1388. 23 miniatures. Or. 13297. pp. 27, 28, 42, 56, 57.

- PLATE 2.
- Persian. Herat. 1421. 18 miniatures. Or. 13802. pp. 8, 54, 55, 56, 58. FIG 23.
- Persian. South Provincial and Turkman styles. 1474–5. 22 miniatures. Or. 2931. p. 68.
- Persian text = Herat ca. 1490. 6 miniatures added in Turkey ca. 1520. Or. 13948. pp. 142, 236, 255. PLATE 23.
- Persian. Ms = Herat. 1444. 19 miniatures in the Later Herat style added in 1493. Add. 25900. p. 74. PLATE 8.
- Persian. Shiraz. 1435–6. 8 miniatures Or. 12856. pp. 49, 50. FIG 20.
- Persian. Later Herat. 1494–5. One double-page and 20 single miniatures. Or. 6810. pp. 61, 72, 74, 76, 224, 234, 235, 236, 255. pl. 9, 45. FIG 56.
- Persian. Tabriz. 1529. 16 miniatures. Add. 16780. pp. 86, 236.
- Persian. Tabriz. 1539–43. 17 miniatures, of which three Muḥammad Zamān were added in 1675. Or. 2265. pp. 80, 83, 84, 85, 86, 103, 106, 107, 109, 123, 124, 126, 142, 188, 218, 225, 226, 233, 238, 255. PLATES 10, 20, FIG 43, 81.
- Persian text. Mughal. 1595. One double-page and 37 single miniatures. Or. 12208. pp. 192, 193, 194, 208, 225, 226, 237, 238. PLATES 38, 46.
- Persian. Isfahan style. 1665–7. 41 miniatures by Tājīb Lalā. Add. 6613. p. 123.
- Khavarānāma* by Muḥammad ibn Ḥusām. Persian text. Panjabī. 1686. 187 miniatures. Add. 19766. pp. 209, 210, 253. PLATE 42.
- Khasraw a Shīrīn* (*Hāwv va Shīrīn*) by Shaykhī (Seyhī). Ottoman Turkish. Late 15th century. 4 miniatures. Or. 14010. pp. 136, 141, 145. PLATES 21, 22.
- Ottoman Turkish. ca. 1575. 11 miniatures. Border paintings. Or. 2708. pp. 136, 144, 145, 146, 228. PLATE 24.
- Kulliyat-i Akbārī*. Persian. Shiraz style binding. 1581–2. Or. 12864. p. 247. FIG 89.
- Kulliyat-i Sa'adī*. Persian. Shiraz style. 1566. 72 miniatures. Add. 24944. pp. 96, 145. PLATE 14.
- Laylā va Majnun* by Ḥafīfī. Persian. Tabriz style. 1532. 6 miniatures. Add. 10586. p. 86.
- Maqāl-i 'Alī-i Rasūl* by Lamī'i. Ottoman Turkish. Late 16th century. 7 miniatures. Border paintings. Or. 7238. pp. 146, 228.
- Miftāḥ al-fawa'id* by Muḥammad ibn Dā'ūd Shādīyābādī. Persian text. Mandu. Sultanate. ca. 1500. 179 miniatures. Or. 3299. pp. 171, 172, 173. FIG 62.
- Mīr a Muskhūr* by 'Aṣṣār. Persian. Qazvin style. 1596. 18 miniatures (some unfinished). Add. 7776. pp. 219, 246, FIG 72.
- Persian. South provincial style. 1471–2. 8 miniatures. Add. 6619. p. 68.
- Miscellany*. Persian. Shiraz. 1410–11. 1 double-page and 40 miniatures. Border paintings. Add. 27261. pp. 47, 48, 55, 61, 180, 223, 225, 234. PLATE 4. FIG 75.
- Nasr-nāma* by Alī of Gallipoli. Ottoman Turkish. 1582. 5 double-page and one single miniature. Add. 22011. p. 150, 151. pl. 28.
- Pashanāma* by Tuḥfū 'Ibrāhīm. Ottoman Turkish. ca. 1630. 5 miniatures. Sloane 3384. p. 133, 151.
- Poems* by Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār. Persian. South provincial style. 1472. 11 miniatures. Or. 4151. p. 68. FIG 32.
- Poems* by Ḥalīlī. Painted lacquer covers. Persian. Tabriz or early Qazvin. 1550. Or. 4124. pp. 86, 248, 249. PLATE 47.
- Qirān al-sa'dayn* by Amīr Khusrāw. Persian. Tabriz. 16th

INDEX OF MANUSCRIPTS BY LOCATION

- century. One double-page and 4 single miniatures. Stowe Or. 14. p. 86.
- Qissa-yi Farrukhshir*, from the Persian by Farāmār ibn Khudādād. Ottoman Turkish. ca. 1600. 64 miniatures. Or. 3298. pp. 147, 158. PLATE 27.
- Qiyāfat al-insāniyya fi shakā'il al-'Uminīya* by Luqmān. (Portraits). Ottoman Turkish. 1588-9. 22 miniatures. Add. 7880. p. 160. PLATE 31.
- Rasmanama*. Trans. into Persian by Naqlb Khān. Persian text. Mughal. 1598. 24 miniatures. Or. 12076. p. 193.
- Shāhnāma* of Firdawsi. Persian text. Sultanate India (?). 1437-8. 94 miniatures. Or. 1403. pp. 164, 165, 166, 167, FIG 59.
- Persian. Mazandaran. North Provincial style. 1446. 89 miniatures (some unfinished). Or. 12688. pp. 64, 65, 66, 164, FIG 30.
- Persian. Turkman style. 1486. 72 miniatures. Add. 18188. pp. 66, 67, 180. PLATE 7.
- Persian. Transoxiana. ca. 1500. 28 miniatures. Or. 13859. pp. 76, 78, 173. FIG 37.
- Persian. Tabriz style. 1536. 48 miniatures. Add. 15531. p. 86, 218. PLATE 11, FIG 71.
- Persian. Qazvin style. 1586. 2 double-page and 48 single miniatures. Add. 27302. pp. 102, 109. PLATE 16.
- Turkish translation. Ottoman Turkish. Late 16th century. 33 miniatures. Or. 7204. p. 147.
- Persian. Isfahan style. 1628. 64 miniatures. Add. 27258. p. 114. PLATE 17.
- Persian text. Kashmiri style. Rajauri, 1719. 97 miniatures. Add. 18804. pp. 210, 211, 254. PLATE 43.
- Persian text. Signed miniature dated 1630 (by Bahā al-Dīn Gilānī) added. Egerton 682. p. 121.
- Sharaf al-ikhān* by Lami'. Ottoman Turkish. 1613. 26 miniatures. Add. 7843. pp. 148, 256. FIG 54.
- Shārnāma* by Nizāmī. Persian text. Bengal. Sultanate style. 1531-2. 8 miniatures. Or. 13836. pp. 67, 179, 180, 182, 183, 221, 234, 255. PLATE 32.
- Sulṭan Maḥmūd u Aḥsā* by Saifi. Persian. Tabriz style. 1544-5. 6 miniatures. Or. 12123. p. 86.
- Sūs u Gūsh* by Naw'i. Persian text. Mughal. 17th century. 3 miniatures. Or. 2839. p. 123.
- Ta'rikh-i Tabari*. Persian. Shiraz. Inju period (no miniatures), 1333-4. Add. 7622. p. 39.
- Timarnāma* by Hāfiṭi. Persian. Tabriz style. 1538. 3 miniatures. Or. 2838. p. 86.
- Wonders of Art and Nature* (author unknown). Ottoman Turkish. ca. 1595-90 miniatures. Harleian 5500. pp. 133, 147.
- Yāsar u Zalzala* by Jāmi. Persian text. Sultanate style. Bengal (?). ca. 1508. 26 miniatures. Or. 4535. pp. 50, 92, 182, PLATE 33. FIG 64.
- Persian text. Kashmiri style. 1764. 76 miniatures. Add. 7771. p. 212.
- Zafarnāma* by Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī. Persian. Shiraz. 1523. 16 miniatures. Add. 7635. pp. 50, 94.
- Persian. Shiraz. 1552. 12 miniatures. Or. 1359. pp. 50, 94.
- Persian text. Provincial Mughal. 7 miniatures. Or. 1052. pp. 192, 207, 208. PLATE 41.
- Zand-nāma* by Fāzil Andarūnī. Ottoman Turkish. Late 18th century. 40 miniatures. Or. 7094. p. 159. PLATE 30.
- British Library — India Office Library and Records.
- Akhlaq-i Mukrimī* by Husayn Vā'iz. Bukhara style. ca. 1550-60. Miniatures. MS. 1097. p. 89.
- Antology*. Persian text. Ilkhanid style. 1306-7. 53 miniatures. MS. 132. pp. 20, 22, 36, 37. FIG 6.
- Khamsa* of Jamālī. Persian. Baghdad. 1465. 6 miniatures. MS. 138. p. 62.
- of Nizāmī. Persian. Shiraz. Early 16th century. 48 miniatures. MS. 387. pp. 93, 94. FIG 41.
- Nimarnāma*. Persian text. Mandu. Sultanate style. ca. 1500-1. 50 miniatures. MS. 149. p. 173. FIG 63.
- Shāhnāma* of Firdawsi. Persian style. ca. 1580. MS. 741. One double-page and 13 single miniatures. p. 102.
- Sindbadnāma* (author unknown). Persian text. Golconda. ca. 1575. 72 miniatures. MS. 3214. pp. 95, 182, 184.
- British Museum
- Album* painting. 18th century copy of a painting of ca. 1553. Mughal. 1974-6-17-010 (6). p. 188. FIG 65.
- Album* of costumes. (Peter Mundy album). Ottoman Turkish. 1618. 59 paintings, 6 full-page cut-out designs. 1974-6-17-013. pp. 138, 229.
- Ottoman Turkish. 18th century. 225 paintings in 2 volumes. 1974-6-17-012 (1) and (2). p. 158.
- Deccani (Golconda paintings). ca. 1590. 5 miniatures. 1974-6-17-06 (1-5). pp. 184, 185.
- Dragon design on Yuan dynasty vase. 13th century. Chinese. 1972-6-20-1 (detail). p. 41. FIG 17.
- Hamsanāma* (detached miniature from). Mughal. 17th century. 1948-10-9-065. p. 186. FIG 66.
- 'Iranian Bodhisattva'. Wooden votive tablet. Khoran. ca. 2nd century. 1907-11-17-71. p. 12. FIG 11.
- Mind't bowl. Persian. Rasy. 13th century. 1930-7-19-64. p. 15. FIG 3.
- Shāhnāma* (detached miniature from.). Persian. Ilkhanid. ca. 1340. 1949-12-11-022. p. 24. FIG 10.
- (—). Persian. Late 15th century. 1948-12-11-023. p. 80. FIG 38.
- Royal Asiatic Society
- Shāhnāma* of Firdawsi. Persian. Herat. ca. 1444. 31 miniatures. MS. 239. pp. 38, 187, 190.
- School of Oriental and African Studies
- Avesta-i Sakayā* by Husayn Vā'iz. Persian text. Mughal. ca. 1570. 27 miniatures. MS. 10102. p. 191.
- Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine
- Horoscope of Iskandar Sultan* by Maḥmūd ibn Yahyā Kāshānī. Persian. Shiraz. 1410-11. pp. 45, 47.
- MANCHESTER
- John Rylands Library
- Asā'ib al-makhlūqāt* by Qazvīnī. Persian. Isfahan style. 1632. 355 miniatures. Ryl. Pers. 3. p. 121.
- Khamsa* of Nizāmī. Persian. Shiraz. 1628. 2 double-page miniatures. Ryl. Pers. 35. p. 102.
- MUNICH
- Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde. Pretertorius Collection
- Khamsa* of Nizāmī (detached miniature). Persian text. Sultanate style? 1530. 77-11-282. p. 180.
- NEW DELHI
- National Museum
- Basā'id* of Sa'dī. Persian text. Mandu. Sultanate style. 1500-3. 43 miniatures. 48/6/4. pp. 78, 174, 175, 235, 245.
- NEW YORK
- Metropolitan Museum of Art
- Khamsa* of Nizāmī. Persian. Tabriz. 1525. 15 miniatures. 13.228. 7. p. 74. FIG 35.

INDEX OF MANUSCRIPTS BY LOCATION

Pierpont Morgan Library

Manāfi al-bayān by Ibn Bakhtishū. Persian. Maragha. 1298. M. 500. p. 17.

Public Library – Spencer Collection

Shawar al-kawātib al-akābīya by 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Sūfi. Persian text. Isfahan style. 1632. 71 miniatures. pp. 113, 121. *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsi. Persian. Jaunpur. Sultanate style. 1501. Indo-Persian MS. No. 2. p. 176. — Persian. Isfahan. 1614. 44 miniatures. p. 114.

OXFORD

Bodleian Library

Albūm. Ottoman Turkish. 18th century. Douce Or.c.1. p. 157. FIG 56. *Bakhtishūn* of Jāmi. Persian text. Mughal. 1595. 6 miniatures. Border paintings. Elliot 254. p. 226. *Hayrat al-abrar* by Navā'i. Persian. Later Herat style. 1485. 4 miniatures. Elliot 287. p. 233. FIG 78. *Kitāb-i Samā'iyat* 'Ayyār by Sādiqī ibn Abū'l-Qāsim Shirāzi. Persian. Shiraz. Inju style. ca. 1330–40. 3 vols. (20, 21, and 39 miniatures) Ouseley 379–81. pp. 39, 147. *The Knight in the Panther's Skin* by Rust'aveli. Georgian. Late 17th century. 21 miniatures. MS Wardrop. d. 27. p. 131. *Sadd-i Iskandar* by Navā'i. Persian. Later Herat style. 1485. 4 miniatures. Elliot 339. p. 80.

PARIS

Bibliothèque Nationale

'Asā'ib al-makhluqāt by Qazvini. Persian. Baghdad. Jalayirid. 1388. 95 miniatures (some contemporary). Supp. Pers. 332. p. 28. *Kalīla va Dima* by Abū'l-Ma'ālī Naṣr Allāh. Persian. Baghdad. Jalayirid. 1392. 75 miniatures. Supp. Pers. 913. p. 28. *Khamsa* of Amīr Khusrāw. Persian. Bakharz. 1572. 13 miniatures. Supp. Pers. 1149. p. 109. *Mir'at-nāma*. Uighur text. Herat style. 1436. 63 miniatures. Supp. Pers. 190. p. 58. *Poems* of Jāmi. Persian. Bakharz. 1567. 13 miniatures. Supp. Pers. 547. p. 109. *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā* by Jāmi. Persian. Bakharz. 1570. 10 miniatures. Supp. Pers. 561. pp. 109, 110.

PRIVATE COLLECTIONS

Amīr-i Sukayli by Husayn Vā'iz. Persian. Qazvin. 1593. Miniatures. p. 113. *Mīhr u Mushtari* by 'Aṣṣār. Persian. Tabriz. 1420. pp. 56, 57. FIG 24. *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsi. Detached miniatures from the Houghton *Shāh-nāma*. Persian. Tabriz. ca. 1535. pp. 71, 79–80, 83, 85, 86, 94, 107, 135, 142, 185, 240, 241, 242. FIG 39.

TASHKENT

Abu Rayhan Biruni Institute

Khamsa of Amīr Khusrāw. Persian. Shiraz. Muzaffarid style. Late 14th century. Miniatures. p. 41.

TEHLIRI

Kekelidze Institute of MSS of the Georgian Academy of Sciences.

The Knight in the Panther's Skin. Georgian. Mid-17th century. S. 5006. p. 131.

TEHRAN

Central University Library

Khamsa of Nizāmī. Persian. South Provincial style. MS = 1318. miniatures added ca. 1380 (?). MS. 5179. pp. 42, 168. FIG 18 and 61.

Gulistan Palace Library

Shāh-nāma of Firdawsi. Persian. Herat. 1430. 22 miniatures. p. 54. *Thousand and One Nights*. Persian. Qājār. 1849–55. 6 volumes. MS. 12367–12372. pp. 128, 221, 223 *see also* FIG 74.

Private Collection

History of Nādir Shāh. Persian. 1756–7. p. 126.

UPPSALA

University Library

Dastān-i Jamāl u Jalāl by Āṣafī. Persian. Metropolitan Turkman style. 1502. 34 miniatures. O. Nova 2. pp. 71, 80. FIG 33. *Khamsa* of Nizāmī. Persian. Shiraz. 1439. Miniatures. O. Vet. 82. pp. 164, 165.

VIENNA

Museum of Applied Arts.

Hamzanāma. Mughal. 16th century. Detached miniatures. pp. 189, 190.

Nationalbibliothek

Albūm of Murād III. Ottoman Turkish. 16th century. Cod. mixt. 373. p. 249. *Kitāb al-darīdīq* by Pseudo-Galen. Persian text. Mosul. Mesopotamian style. Mid-13th century. A.F. 10. p. 35.

WASHINGTON D.C.

Freer Gallery of Art. Smithsonian Institute

Albūm (Rizā 'Abbāsī). Persian. Isfahan style. First half of 17th century. 53. 16. pp. 114, 115. FIG 45. *Dīwān* of Sultan Ahmad. Persian. Jalayirid. 1402. 8 pages of border drawings. 32–29. pp. 27, 224, 225. *Haft Awrang* by Jāmi. Persian. Mashhad. 1556–65. 28 miniatures. 46–12. pp. 105, 106, 107. *Khamsa* of Nizāmī. Persian. Shiraz. 1548. 68–261. pp. 95, 184. *Mīhr u Mushtari* by 'Aṣṣār. Persian. Shiraz. 1477–8. 2 miniatures. 49–3. p. 68. *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsi. (Demotte *Shāh-nāma*). Detached miniature. Tabriz. Ilkhanid. ca. 1330. 35–23. p. 22. FIG 8.

General Index

- *Abū al-Khān* 17
 'Abbas I, d. (1629) 79, 100, 108, 110, 113, 114, 106, 131
 — envoy sent by to Jahangir 206, 207
 — gifts sent by, to 'Usmān II of Turkey 235
 — patronage of book production 107, 109, 111, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117
 — *PLATE 17*
 'Abbas II, d. (c. 1666) 181, 182
 — patronage of book production 121, 123
 'Abd Allah, Bukhara artist 89
 'Abd Allah II, d. of Bukhara, *Shahābuddīn* sent by, to Murad III of Turkey 191
 'Abd Allah ibn al-Ikhdār (d. 1570), Bukhara patron 89, 91, 191
 'Abd al-Aziz Bahadur Khān (d. 1550), Bukhara patron 89, 191
 'Abd al-Hakim Mubdini, artist 120, *PLATE 42*
 'Abd al-Hamīd I (d. 1784), Turkish Sultan, gift of albums to Dietz 158
 'Abd al-Hayy, artist 43
 'Abd al-Majīd I (d. 1861), Turkish Sultan 160
 'Abd al-Rahmān, *ṣāḥib* of the *Bahār-nāma* *see Bahār-nāma*
 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Sūfī *see Saḥar al-khawāṣṣ al-shābiha*
 'Abd al-Razzāq, Herat artist 72
 'Abd al-Samad, artist, Tabriz and Mughal India 103, 108, 109, 120, 121, 191
 'Abd Sayyid Shams al-Dīn, Sulṭānate artist 28, 102, 103, 133, 191, 64
 Abū'l-Faraj al-Isfahānī *see Kishā al-aghāni*
 Abū'l-Fath Sulṭān Khālīl *see Khālīl*
 Abū'l-Faḍl ibn Muḥabbar, *see Aḥl al-Abbār*
Abbādnāma
 Abū'l-Ḥasan, Mughal artist 186, 205
 Abū'l-Ḥasan Ghaffārī, *ṣāḥib al-maṣūf*, Qājār artist 127, 128, 129, 221, 223, 191, 74
 Abū Isḥāq (d. 1557) 98, 39
 Abū'l-Ma'ālī Nūr Allah, *see Kātib-e Dīmār*
 Abū Rayḥān Bīrūnī INSTITUTE, Tashkent *see* Index of MSS by Location.
 Abū Sa'īd (d. 1335) 22, 24, 26, 30
 Abū Tahir Tārīkātī *see Abūrahbān*
 Academy of Sultan Husayn, miniature of 74, 235, 191, 72
 Academy, Mughal, of Akbar 190, 191, 192, 193, *PLATE 34*, 35, 36, 37, 38, 191, 66
 Afghān al-Huwayrī, artist 121
 Afghān al-Shīrāzī *see Kātib-e Dīmār*
 Ahmad al-Dīn, Sultan of Turkey 150
 Ahmad called Ḥamīd Khān ibn Maḥmūd, calligrapher 179
 Ahmad Aqā, Ottoman patron 149
 Ahmad Shāmshukī, Turkish artist 148
 'Aḥl al-Abbār *see* Abū'l-Faḍl ibn Muḥabbar 192
 'Aḥl al-maṣūḍīyāt *see* al-Qawīmāt 28, 121
 — abbreviated version by Suṭūrī 149
 'Aḥl al-ṣāḥib al-ṣāḥib by Muḥammad ibn al-Da'ūd 171
 Akbar (d. 1605), Mughal emperor 75, 191, 205
 — patron 76, 186, 190, 191, 199, 193, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207
 — *PLATES 34*, 35, 36, 37
Abbādnāma by Abū'l-Faḍl ibn Muḥabbar 188, 193, 194, 226, 227, 227, 227, 227, 227, 227, 227
 — *see also* Index of MSS by Location — Dublin — London
 Additōri *Makbūl* by Husayn Vāḥid 80
 'Alā' al-Dīn Husayn Shah (d. 1519) Bengal Sulṭānate ruler 182, 183, *PLATE 37*, 39
 'Alā' al-Dawla Mīrā ibn Baysūṅhur 39
 'Alā' *see* Yazdgerdān
 Albums (Dietz), Berlin 26, 47
 (Dietz) British Museum 158
 — of Ibrahim Mīrā 30
 — in Istanbul collections 26, 83, 89, 133, 216, 219, 221, 191, 68, 69, 70, 73
 — Mughal 206, 207
 — Murad 191, 209
 — Turkish 151, 152, 157, 158, 159, 160, *PLATES 29*, 30, 31, 191, 69
 — Qājār 182, 221, 191, 69, 47
 — Riza 'Abbās 114, 115, 191, 65
 Alexander the Great (d. 337 B.C.) 168, 253, 254, 191, 61
 — battle of with Darius 72, 74, 225, *PLATE 8*, 191, 63
 — receiving insulting gifts from Darius 80, 235, *PLATE 32*
 — insulting Darius 221, 254, *PLATE 43*
 — with Nushabā 31, 232, 254, 191, 63
 — and the Talking Tree 24, 191, 61
 'Alī and the Christian monk 47, *PLATE 4*
 — subduing a white lion 109, 210, *PLATE 42*
 'Alī Agha, father of Riza 'Abbās 108, 114
 'Alī Ghalī *see* 'Alī Chāghā
 'Alī Chāghā *see* *Al-Husayn-nāma*
 'Alī First Basilā, dedication to 74, *PLATE 9*
 'Alī of Gallipoli *see* *Nur-nāma*
 Alīshahād, Jahangir at 205
 Amir Khawar *see Khawar*
 Amir Muhammad ibn al-Mustaḍa of Mazandaran 64
 Angels with Bilqā 96, 184, *PLATE 1*
 — in Turkish manuscripts 149
 Animals, complaint about mankind 148, 226, 191, 64
 — Jahangir's interest in 205
 Anthology 20, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342

GENERAL INDEX

PLATES 32, 33, FIG 64

Bibliothèque Égyptienne, Cairo *see* Index of MSS by Location

— Nationale, Paris, *see* Index of MSS by Location

Bīdārī, Fables of, *see* *Kullīya wa-Dawā*

Bīrādd, son of 'Abd al-Samad, Mughal artist 192

— Persian artist, Hesar and Tabriz 14, 50, 72, 74, 75, 76, 79, 80, 84, 89, 101, PLATE 8, FIG 34, 36

— Bijapur or Deccani painter

Bilqis, Queen of Sheba 95, 96, 184, PLATE 14, FIG 32

Bindings, book 94, 109, 144, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251

— lacquer 126, 211, 241, 249, PLATE 47

Birds, paintings by Mansūr 193, 194, 206, PLATE 36

— *see also* Crane, Heron

Biernāya, the owl, ridden by Farīdān 107, 250, PLATE 15

al-Bīrīnī (d. 1051) *see* Astronomical treatise

Bīrādd, Mughal artist 206

— sent to Isfahan 206, 207

Bīrādd rescued by Ruzayn 41, FIG 16

Black Sheep Turkmen *see* Qalī Qusunbū

Bīrādd, men sheltering from 125, FIG 48

Bodhisattva, 'Iranian' 12, FIG 1

Bodleian Library, Oxford *see* Index of MSS by Location

Book of Delicacies *see* *Niwaandana*

Border designs 79, 109, 205, 218, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 236, 202, 231

Bosphorus, Turkish cartographic drawing of 151, FIG 55

British Museum, London *see* Index of MSS by Location

Brushes, artists' 244

Bukhara, scenes 72, 73, 76, 151, 251, FIG 34, 36

Bukhara, artists of, *see* 'Abd Allāh; Mahmūd; Mazahibī; Shahrīn

— characteristics of style 13, 72, 110, PLATE 34, FIG 40

— influence on Mughal painting 89, 91, 190, 191, 208, PLATE 34

— patronage at 72, 79, 89, 91, 133, FIG 40

— patronage at 72, 79, 89, 91, 133, FIG 40

— patronage at 72, 79, 89, 91, 133, FIG 40

— patronage at 72, 79, 89, 91, 133, FIG 40

— patronage at 72, 79, 89, 91, 133, FIG 40

— patronage at 72, 79, 89, 91, 133, FIG 40

— patronage at 72, 79, 89, 91, 133, FIG 40

— patronage at 72, 79, 89, 91, 133, FIG 40

— patronage at 72, 79, 89, 91, 133, FIG 40

— patronage at 72, 79, 89, 91, 133, FIG 40

— patronage at 72, 79, 89, 91, 133, FIG 40

— patronage at 72, 79, 89, 91, 133, FIG 40

— patronage at 72, 79, 89, 91, 133, FIG 40

— patronage at 72, 79, 89, 91, 133, FIG 40

— patronage at 72, 79, 89, 91, 133, FIG 40

— patronage at 72, 79, 89, 91, 133, FIG 40

— patronage at 72, 79, 89, 91, 133, FIG 40

— patronage at 72, 79, 89, 91, 133, FIG 40

— patronage at 72, 79, 89, 91, 133, FIG 40

— patronage at 72, 79, 89, 91, 133, FIG 40

— patronage at 72, 79, 89, 91, 133, FIG 40

— patronage at 72, 79, 89, 91, 133, FIG 40

— patronage at 72, 79, 89, 91, 133, FIG 40

— patronage at 72, 79, 89, 91, 133, FIG 40

— patronage at 72, 79, 89, 91, 133, FIG 40

— patronage at 72, 79, 89, 91, 133, FIG 40

— patronage at 72, 79, 89, 91, 133, FIG 40

— patronage at 72, 79, 89, 91, 133, FIG 40

— patronage at 72, 79, 89, 91, 133, FIG 40

— patronage at 72, 79, 89, 91, 133, FIG 40

— patronage at 72, 79, 89, 91, 133, FIG 40

— patronage at 72, 79, 89, 91, 133, FIG 40

— patronage at 72, 79, 89, 91, 133, FIG 40

— patronage at 72, 79, 89, 91, 133, FIG 40

— patronage at 72, 79, 89, 91, 133, FIG 40

— patronage at 72, 79, 89, 91, 133, FIG 40

— patronage at 72, 79, 89, 91, 133, FIG 40

— patronage at 72, 79, 89, 91, 133, FIG 40

— patronage at 72, 79, 89, 91, 133, FIG 40

— patronage at 72, 79, 89, 91, 133, FIG 40

— patronage at 72, 79, 89, 91, 133, FIG 40

— patronage at 72, 79, 89, 91, 133, FIG 40

— patronage at 72, 79, 89, 91, 133, FIG 40

— patronage at 72, 79, 89, 91, 133, FIG 40

— patronage at 72, 79, 89, 91, 133, FIG 40

— patronage at 72, 79, 89, 91, 133, FIG 40

— patronage at 72, 79, 89, 91, 133, FIG 40

— patronage at 72, 79, 89, 91, 133, FIG 40

Daqīqī 13, 251

Daqīqī by 'Abd al-Ṭāhir Ṭāhīrī 191, 192, 193, 194, PLATE 35

Darius (d. 330 B.C.) *see* Alexander the Great

Deccani painting 183, 184

— Ahmadnagar 183, 184

— Bijapur 183, 184

— Golkonda 183, 184, 205

Decoupage *see* Cut-out work

Delhi, King of, tribute to in MS 166

— Sultan of, elephant sent by, to Ghāzān Khān 19

— Sultanate period of, 166, 180, FIG 59

— Durrani army fought by Hushang 94

— — by Rustam 13

— White, killed by Rustam 35, 102, 216, 217, 218, 253, FIG 42

Demotte, Shahrīn *see* Shahrīn, Demotte

Diex albums *see* Albums (Diex)

Diridār giving advice 71, FIG 33

Divān of Bāqī 121, 148, PLATE 18, 26

— Fāyāzī 112

— Hāfi 121, 240, FIG 82

— Hāfi Sa'd 62

— Sulṭān Aḥmad 224, 225

— Sulṭān Husayn 144, 235, FIG 79

— Doge, design on Yuan vase 41, FIG 17

— Fāhād transformed into 63, FIG 39

— in Turkish miniatures 149

— Drunken scenes 190, FIG 66

Durham University Library *see* Index of MSS by Location

Dust Muhammad, Tabriz artist and author of treatise on artists 22, 28, 43, 80, 85, 221

Ears, human, as symbol of victory 150, PLATE 41

Edinburgh University Library *see* Index of MSS by Location

— characteristics of style 13, 72, 110, PLATE 34, FIG 40

— ridden by Ghāzān Khān at Tabriz 19

— in Persian miniatures 19, 64, 75, 84, 185, 200, 34

— employed by Ṭīmūr at Samarkand 75, FIG 34

— 75, FIG 34, 205, PLATE 36, FIG 39

— *see also* Throne decorations

Ermeys *see* Clavie; Ghīyāṣ al-Dīn; Khān 'Alam;

Tuḡmaḡ Khān; Yakār 'Alī

European costume in Mughal miniatures 208, FIG 67

— Persian — 126, 166

— influence on Mughal painting 186, 190, 192, 205, 208, FIG 35

— *see also* Persian — 106, 123, 124, 125, 127, 128, 129, 221, PLATE 20, FIG 46

— Turkish — 134, 148, 159, PLATE 51

Faces, expressive, in miniatures 26, 38, 106, 196, 144, 145, 182, PLATES 13, 33, FIG 37, 41, 53, 64

Fakhār al-Dīn, Tabriz artist 86

Fārmayn ibn Khudūdāl *see* Qāsimī Fārmayn

Qāsimī Fārmayn

Fārmayn carrying Shīrīn and her horse 61, 256, FIG 28

— running to greet Shīrīn 136, 254, PLATE 21

— visiting Shīrīn 74, 254, PLATE 9

Fāridān as a dragon, testing his sons 83, 250, FIG 39

— supported by Kāva the smith 66, FIG 31

— escorting Zhūhāk to Mt Damāvand 107, 252, PLATE 15

Fārmayn Beg, artist 108

Fārmayn *see* Fārmayn, Dīlshāhī by Shāhī 148

Fārmayn (d. 1710) 210, 250

Fārmayn Yār (d. 1501) ruler of Shirvān and patron 64

Fārmayn 24, 35, 69, 94

— *see also* Shirvān

Fārmayn *see* Dīlshāhī

Fārmayn (d. 1844) 86, 126, 187, 229, 250

Fārmayn (Jadāro-Persian) of 'Imrān Shīrīn 130

Fārmayn (d. 1502) 13, 107, 206, 255

— *see also* Shahrīn

Fārmayn playing the harp while Bahārīm Gūr hurls 84, 85, PLATE 10

— carrying the ox on her shoulders 85, 124, PLATE 20

Fārmayn Teller, The, by Kamāl al-Mulk 108, 199, FIG 50

Free Gallery of Art, Washington D.C. *see* Index of MSS by Location

Futūdgāh Calcutta, Calcutta, Lisbon *see* Index of MSS by Location

Fūzālī *see* Hāfiq al-Sā'id

Garden of Paradise 58

— where traveller discovered maidens playing 62, FIG 43

Gārdānawān by Asadī 22, 84, 106, 107, 250, PLATE 13, FIG 1

Gaut, Bengal, book production at 179, 189, PLATE 33, FIG 14

Gawhar Sultān, wife of Dīlshāh Mirzā 105

Gāzelles rescued by Mughnī 61, 225, FIG 27

Geogia, Turkish campaign in 150

— illustrated MSS influenced by Persian artists 131

— *see also* Sīyāsh Beg

Ghāzān al-Sā'id by Asadī 110, 114, FIG 44

Ghāzān al-Sā'id by Navā'i 122, 143, 257, FIG 52, 53

Ghāzān Khān (d. 1341) 18

— and his elephant 19

Ghīyāṣ al-Dīn, artist and envoy of Bāyazīd 59

— Khāfi (d. 1500) of Malwa 171, 173, FIG 65

Gift of elephant to Ghāzān Khān 19

— — grapple to Ṭīmūr 75

— illustrating, received by Alexander the Great 180, 245, FIG 32

— of manuscripts 83, 125

— piebald horse to Ṭīmūr 18

— robes to 'Abbasī 1207

Glossary *see* Ṭīmūr

Golconda, illustrated *see* *Mughal al-Faḥārī*

Golkonda *see* Deccani painting

Gold, preparation of 245, 246

— use of, in manuscripts 25, 36, 47, 64, 84, 85, 105, 135, 152, 185, 210, 211, 219, 226, 227, 240, 241, 242, PLATE 6

Gūdgāz pursuing Pirān 86

Gujarat, illustrated MSS produced at 162, 167, FIG 37, 60

Gūdgāz of Sa'dī 69, 64, 89, 91, 92, 94, 142, 190, 191, 207, 208, 256, 257, PLATES 5, 13, 34, FIG 51, 52

Gūdgāz of Sa'dī 69, 64, 89, 91, 92, 94, 142, 190, 191, 207, 208, 256, 257, PLATES 5, 13, 34, FIG 51, 52

Gūdgāz of Sa'dī 69, 64, 89, 91, 92, 94, 142, 190, 191, 207, 208, 256, 257, PLATES 5, 13, 34, FIG 51, 52

Gūdgāz of Sa'dī 69, 64, 89, 91, 92, 94, 142, 190, 191, 207, 208, 256, 257, PLATES 5, 13, 34, FIG 51, 52

Gūdgāz of Sa'dī 69, 64, 89, 91, 92, 94, 142, 190, 191, 207, 208, 256, 257, PLATES 5, 13, 34, FIG 51, 52

Gūdgāz of Sa'dī 69, 64, 89, 91, 92, 94, 142, 190, 191, 207, 208, 256, 257, PLATES 5, 13, 34, FIG 51, 52

Gūdgāz of Sa'dī 69, 64, 89, 91, 92, 94, 142, 190, 191, 207, 208, 256, 257, PLATES 5, 13, 34, FIG 51, 52

Gūdgāz of Sa'dī 69, 64, 89, 91, 92, 94, 142, 190, 191, 207, 208, 256, 257, PLATES 5, 13, 34, FIG 51, 52

Gūdgāz of Sa'dī 69, 64, 89, 91, 92, 94, 142, 190, 191, 207, 208, 256, 257, PLATES 5, 13, 34, FIG 51, 52

Gūdgāz of Sa'dī 69, 64, 89, 91, 92, 94, 142, 190, 191, 207, 208, 256, 257, PLATES 5, 13, 34, FIG 51, 52

Gūdgāz of Sa'dī 69, 64, 89, 91, 92, 94, 142, 190, 191, 207, 208, 256, 257, PLATES 5, 13, 34, FIG 51, 52

Gūdgāz of Sa'dī 69, 64, 89, 91, 92, 94, 142, 190, 191, 207, 208, 256, 257, PLATES 5, 13, 34, FIG 51, 52

Gūdgāz of Sa'dī 69, 64, 89, 91, 92, 94, 142, 190, 191, 207, 208,

GENERAL INDEX

- Henry III of Castile, envoys of 17, 30-43
Hemacius receiving the Prophet's letter 212, PLATE 44
Hera, Bābūr at 187
— patronage of book production, early 15th century
44, 45, 54, 55, 56, 57, 60-82, 112, 122, 25, 86, 87
— 15th century 44, 45, 54, 55, 62, 74, 144, PLATES 8,
9, 45, 54, 55, 56, 79
— 16th and 17th century 79, 100, 110, 112, 160, 161
— style influence on Bākharā painting 78, 79, 80, 81,
175
— — on Sultanate — 76, 171, 174, 175-235
— — on Tabriz — 76
— — on Turkish — 76, 144, 145, PLATE 84
— — Tahmasp at 83, 84
— — Uzbek conquests 76, 79, 80, 88, 110, 113, 125
— — on al-Buhārī — 78, 80, 81, 82, 113, 125
Khān Shamsī; Shāhkhān; Sultan Husayn
Himā in clouds 50
Hills, poems of 126, 111, 248, 249, PLATE 47
Him in Shīrāz paintings 30, 37, 41, 42, 51
Himā, 126, 135, 178, 185, 201, 211, 261
History of the Indians 79
History of India 41 by Qasīm Bē, PLATE 12
Husop, messengers of Bāgh 35, 86, PLATE 14
Hormaz as centre of trade 37
Husayn al-Buhārī against Portuguese, 1582 136, 160, 61
Horseplay of Iskandar Sultan by Mahmūd ibn Yāhyā
Kāhānā 45, 47
Homes, characteristic of Shīrāz painting, ca. 1400-14
49, 50, 190-91
— pictorial, in Herat and Bākharā miniatures 74, 78,
PLATE 8
— — pictorial, presented to Tīmūr 78
— — and Shīrīn conferred by Farhād 61 710-8
Houghton, A. Arthur, Jr., see Shāhkhān, Houghton
Hūqāq (cf. 185)
Humay at the Chinese court 30, 257, PLATE 1
Humay a Humayy by Khavāṭ Kirmīn 30, 56, 58,
257, PLATE 1
Humayn (d. 1556), Mughal emperor, interest in
painting 84, 109, 188
— — exiled in Iran 84, 103, 188
— — at Kabul 84, 188
— — in a mountain clearing 188, 190, 65
— — restoring building to plundered caravans 194,
PLATE 37
Humayy-nāma by 'Alī Chāhān 136, 145
— see also Amir-i Sakhāy
Husayn Khān Shamsī (d. c.1618), Herat patron 79,
110, 112, 190-94
Husayn al-Husayn see Amīd-i Mawḥib; Amir-i Sakhāy
Husayn's *Do'ā* 86
Husayn-e Shīrīn see Khawar-e Sūbūt
Ibn Bakhshīsh or Maqāl-i al-Ayazī
Ibrahim see Abraham; Miracle
Ibrāhīm Lahūtī, Mughal artist 192
Ibrāhīm Mīrāb (ibn Bakhsh Mīrāb (d. 1576) 103, 105
— — as a patron at Mashhad 103, 105, 106
— — murder of 105
— — see also Mashhad
Ibrāhīm Shīrāzī (d. 1435) 44, 48, 50
— — anthology of 50, 160, 162-1
— — calligraphy by 50
— — as a patron at Shīrāz 48, 49, 50, 166, 162-1
Ibrāhīm ṣāḥib of Iran, 17, 18, 80, 84
Illumination 35, 70, 67, 147, 205, 212, 227, 229, 233,
234, 235, 238, 237, PLATES 45, 46, 160, 167, 78
— design within paintings 89, 91, 126, 116, 150, 191, 201,
233, 238, 237, 238, PLATES 10, 34, 38, 160, 167, 237
Imām Qutb Khān recapturing Hermez 114, 126,
190-4
— — taking leave of his sons 126
Imādī Shīrāzī see Fawā'id
Indian artists see Hindu painting; Sultanate painting
India Office Library or British Library—India Office
Library at India Office MSS by Location
Injāz ṣāḥib at Shīrāz 38, 39
Injāz ṣāḥib of Iran, 17, 18, 80, 84
Ink 244

- inscriptions within miniatures 74, 89, 106, 190.
 PLATES 34
 Invaders, Afghan, of Iran 125, 126, 126
 Arab — 126
 Mongol — 11, 35
 Selyuk — 14, 15
 of Timur *et seq.* — 14, 15
 Turkish, of Iran 103, 134
 see also *Turkman*
Inq 85, 256, 110-99
Ishān style of painting 135, 102, 115, 114, 115, 121
 of 135, 131, 211, PLATES 17, 18, 19, 1908-45
 46, 47, 48
Isfahānī capturing Gungwar 24, 110-10
 fighting Rustam 22, 110-9
Iskandar or Alexander the Great
 Ismā'il Mūnshī on artist's *Ar* 85, 207, 106, 108
Iskandar Salār (d. 1415) 39, 44, 45-48
 — *homocope* of 43, 47
 — *manuscripts produced for* 43, 47, 48, 51, 51
 PLATE 4, FIG. 75
Iskandar as patron at Shiraz 43, 45, 47, 53, 52
Isma'īl (d. 1524) 74, 80, 94, 110, 134, 141
 Histories 86, 123, 126, 127, 128, 129
 — as a patron at Tabriz 53, 71, 83
Isma'īl (d. 1537) 105, 106, 107
 — as a patron at Shiraz 106, 107, 108
Istanbul University Library *see* *Index of MSS by Location*
Isfahānī artist at Ottoman court 134

Jā'far Tabrizi, calligrapher 58, 110, 94
Jahāgnath, Mughal artist 182, 103
Jahāngīr (d. 1627), Mughal emperor 75, 211
 — *envoys and gifts sent to* Shah 'Abbas 106, 207
 — as a patron at Allahabad 191, 205, 206, PLATES 39, 40
 — *Interest in natural history* 194, 206, 228
 — *see also* *Kashmir*; *Khan 'Alam*
Jāmī illustrated *MSS* 12, 161, 164, 167, 209, 517
 see also *Khalid*
Jalavīdīn dynasty 24, 26, 27
 — *painting under*, *see* *Sultan Ahmad*
Jāmī al-Jawāb, *Diwān-i* by Asafī 71, 80, 135
Jāmī *or* *Khawāṣ* of *Jāmī*
 of *Shirāz*, *Diwān-i* by *Shirāzī*, *Yūsuf* *or* *Zakariya*
 of *Shirāz* *by* Rashid al-Dīn (d. 1318) 19, 22,
 24, 57, 110, 5
 — *Chinese artists working on* 19, 20
 — *illustrated by* Qutbī 114, 124, 206, 110, 46
Jauhar 176
Javān, *those* *Pragati* 66, PLATE 13
Al-Jawz *see* *Kutub* *fi* *Ma'rifat al-Aḥwāl al-Aswadiyya*
Jericho, attack on 130
John Rylands Library, Manchester *see* *Index of MSS by Location*
Joseph *see* *Yūsuf*
Joshua, army of, attacking Jericho 130
 — *Book of*, *see* *Fasti*
Josiah - *Persian* illustrated *MSS* 130, 131
Juwaynī of Baghdad, artist 28, 257, 104

Kabul 84, 107, 187, 188
Kālīkālī, Jain monk, and the *Saka* king 160, 110, 57
Kalāṭ *or* *Khawāṣ* *of* 180, 180, 110, 57
 of *Shirāz*, *Diwān-i* by *Shirāzī*, *Yūsuf* *or* *Zakariya*
 of *Shirāz* *by* Rashid al-Dīn (d. 1318) 19, 22, 24, 57, 110, 5
 — *see also* *Amān-i* *Sakariya*; *Hamāyūn* *adms*
Karpatians 162
Karīm al-Mulk (Mirza Muḥammad Ghaffārī)
 of *Shirāz*, *Diwān-i* by *Shirāzī*, *Yūsuf* *or* *Zakariya*
 of *Shirāz* *by* Rashid al-Dīn (d. 1318) 19, 22, 24, 57, 110, 5
Karmī *Khal* *Zand* (d. c. 779), poetagee at Shiraz 126, 258
 — *portrait of* 128
Kashmir, book production at 210, 211, 212
 — *crafts of* 211
 — *illustrated MSS in the British Library* 211, 212, 212
 PLATE 44
 Jahāngīr style of 206, 228
 see also *Hamāyūn*; *Rajauri*
Kashmiri style of painting 211, 212, 258, 242, 245, 245
 PLATE 44

- Kara the blacksmith using his spoon as a standard 66, 73
 Kay Kā'ān and the King of Mazandaran 114, 233.
 PLATE 17
 — and the fire-ordeal of Siyāvush 66, 72, 128, PLATE 7
 Kēkelidze Indemir of MSS of the Georgian
 Academy of Sciences, Tbilisi see Index of MSS by
 location
 Kemān Pasha, campaigns of 151
 Khalīl ibn 'Uṭm Hān (d. 1438) 65, 68, 71
 — as a patron at Shiraz and Tabriz 65, 68, 71
 Khālī Allāh, calligrapher 110
 Khālī Allāh (d. 1452), ruler of Shirvan 64
 Khāṣa of Amīr Khwārazmī, n. 59, 95, 167, FIGS 29, 30
 — of 'Adl 151, FIG 55
 — of Jamāl 62
 Khayyām, Nīmāz 7, 8, 26, 27, 36, PLATE 1, FIG 12
 — of Nizāmī 8, 27, 48, 56, 53, 58, 61, 71, 72, 73,
 74, 76, 78, 80, 83, 84, 102, 105, 123, 142, 164,
 185, 194, 205, 207, 218, 255, PLATES 2, 6, 8, 9,
 10, 30, 23, 38, 45, 46, FIGS 13, 18, 20, 23, 26, 27,
 28, 33, 36, 43, 44
 Khān 'Alam, envoy of Jahāngīr 206, 207
 Khān, Gīrāt, Mongol 17
 Khawānuṣ-nāma by Muḥammad ibn Ḥusām 209, 234,
 PLATE 33
 Khawānuṣ, discoveries at 110
 Khawānuṣ, miniature paintings of 209, 110
 — see also Bakharz, Illegat
 Khawānuṣ a Šāhīr by Nizāmī 121, 257, see also Khawānuṣ
 — by Shāhkhū Khān 141, 144, 145, 256, PLATES 21, 22
 Khawānuṣ Parvīn in battle 142, 205, PLATES 22, 38
 — killing a lion 58, 167
 — portrait of 142, 145, 256, PLATES 24, FIG 23
 — meeting Shīrīn 30, 254, FIG 21
 Khawānuṣ a Šāhīr by Nizāmī a 142, 257, see also Khawānuṣ
 King, Šīrīn, with Kāfāka 12, 162, 167, 310, 37
 — in frontispiece paintings 19, 35, 166, FIG 58
 Khawānuṣ al-ghayb al-Farāz al-Infāhī 162, FIG 58
 Khawānuṣ al-darabī by Pseudo-Galen 35
 Khawānuṣ al-sa'ī al-ḥal al-khawānuṣī by al-Jazārī 175,
 176
 Khawānuṣ al-sa'ī 'Ayyar by Sadiq ibn Abū 'Iqlīm
 Shīrīn 39, 147
 Khawānuṣ al-sa'ī al-ḥal, Sābiy by Rust'afī 131
 Khayyām al-Fārid (d. 1294) 17
 Khawānuṣ of Abū'l-Šīrīn 142, FIG 83
 — of Hāfiz al-Aḥrū 19, 57, 58, FIG 25
 — of Sa'ī (d. 1392) 96, PLATE 14 see also Bakharz,
 Illegat
 Khawānuṣ, Mongol 17
 — by Henry of Thiers 17, 208
 Laid 83, 110
 Lāḥi Muṣṭafā Pasha 150, 151, PLATE 38
 Lāmī 17 see Maḥṣal al-Ḥisāl; Šīrīn al-ḥal
 Landscapes in miniatures, styles of 18, 38, 39, 41,
 45, 50, 58, 66, 71, 161, 167, 188, 190, 194,
 208
 Lāḥi Muṣṭafā by Nizāmī 61, 254, 255 see also
 Khawānuṣ
 Leaf, apsey, gold, in Shiraz decoration 67, 170, 180,
 254, PLATES 7, 32
 Le Coq, A. von 14
 Leopard and lion skin, Shiraz decoration 67, 210, 253,
 PLATES 16, 18, 42, FIGS 16, 30, 38, 42
 Leopard-rail decorations on bridle 71
 — on quivers 65
 Lion purring homage to 'Alī 209, 210, PLATE 42
 Lion by Bahāddīr Gīr 45, PLATE 10, FIG 37
 — riding by drunk soldier 167, FIG 39
 — tail decorations on helmets 147
 — see also Throne decorations
 Literature 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 257, 258, 259
 — of Lāmī 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 257, 258
 Lurān design 19, 37, 167, 173, 250, FIGS 50-77
 Lurān, accession of 19, 20, 80, 85
 Lurān, Ottoman court historian 19, 243, 244
 — see also Qaṣṣat al-ḥayāt of Khawānuṣ al-
 ḥal; Lurān, Šīrīn
 Lurī 'Alī Khān (d. 1860), Shiraz artist 138

GENERAL INDEX

- [illegible]

GENERAL INDEX

- [illegible]

GENERAL INDEX

- *see also* Ghāzāl Khān; Rashīd al-Dīn; Rashīdiyya
Tahmāsp (d. 1573/83, 106, 108, 131, 134
 — album sent to Turkey 81, 135
 — friendship with his artists 85, 100
 — likeness in miniatures 84, 200
 — decline in interest in painting 88, 103
 — patronage of book production 53, 76, 83, 84, 85,
 107, 221, PLATE 10, FIG 39
Tāhīs Lāhī, artist 193
Tāmārline *see* **Tīmūr**
Tā'arā *see* **Jahān-dād** 184, 195, FIG 48
Tā'arāhī Tabārī (Inja period) 39
Tāhīs, Turkish conquest of 150, 151
 — *see also* Kēcheldiz Institute of MSS
Tegōdēt 18
Tehān, Qājār patronage at 126, 127, 128, 129, 221,
 FIG 49, 50, 74
 — University Central Library *see* Index of MSS by
 Location
Tūsānān and One Night 128, 221, 222, FIG 74
 Throne decorations of elephants 185
 — — — lions 208
Tīmūr (d. 1405), campaigns of 26, 34, 48, 43, 93, 161
 — house of, described by Clavius 30, 31
 — *Arāzī* of 17, 208
 — greeting Pir Muhammad 208, PLATE 41
 — patronage of book production by descendants of
 39, 43, 44
 — at Samarkand 17, 39, 42, 75
 — *see also* **Tīmūrshāh**; **Zafarshāh**
Tīmūrshāh by Hāfīz 86
Topkapı Sarayı Museum Library, Istanbul *see* Index
 of MSS by Location
Torture in Turkish miniatures 148, 158
Toyseller 157, 200, 56
Trade routes 37
Transoxiana 12, 13, 76, 89
 — painting style of 13, 76, 89, FIG 37
Tree, Talking 22, FIG 11
 —, *Waynā* 171, FIG 52
Taf *see* **Standard**
Tulā'i Ibrāhīm *see* **Pāstānshāh**
Tuqmaq Khān, Persian envoy to Turkey 135
Turān 13, 83
Turān 14
 Turkish border paintings 145, 146, 208, 229,
 PLATE 26
 — illumination 236, FIG 80
 — miniature painting 133, 134, 135, 141, 142, 143,
 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 158, 159,
 159, 159
 — — — *Isazār* style 157, FIG 50
 — — — cartographic style 151, FIG 53
 — — — characteristics of 136, 148, 144, PLATES 21,
 22, 23, 27, 28, 36, 31
 — — — 'chronicles' style 150, 151, PLATE 28
 — — — colour range 146, 147, 238, PLATE 27
 — — — 'epic' style 147, 148, PLATE 22
 — — — influenced by European painting 134, 144,
 145, PLATE 24
 — — — influenced by Herat painting 136, 144, 145,
 PLATE 24, FIG 39
 — — — patronage of 133, 134, 148, 149, 150, 159
 — — — 'romantic' style 145, 146, 152, PLATE 24
 — — — influenced by Shiraz painting 136, 144, 145,
 PLATE 25
 — — — signatures on 148, FIG 54
 — — — influenced by Tabriz painting 136, 142, 143,
 144, FIG 52, 53
 — — — *see also* Albums
 — paper 235 *see also* Cut-out work
 — Turkmen, Black Sheep *see* **Qutlū Qusyūnū**
 — invasions 62
 — Shāmī governors and guardians *see* **Shāmī**
 — style of painting 8, 56, 63, 66, 67, 71, 80, 92, 93,
 PLATE 7, FIGS 31, 38
 — — — influence on Sultanate artists 170, 171,
 FIG 62, 63
 — White Sheep *see* **Aq Qusyūnū**
 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Maḥmūd (d. 1540), Bukhara patron
 89
 Uḡayyū (d. 1316) 18, 28, 38
 Uḡayy Beg 48
 Unfinished miniatures 64, 179, 219, 221, FIG 72
 Vāzide 14, 48, 51, 143, 191, 195, 194, 208, 237,
 238, 241, 242, PLATE 45, FIG 76
 Uppsala University Library *see* Index of MSS by
 Location
 'Usmān II (d. 1622), Sultan of Turkey, gifts sent to,
 by 'Abbas I 133
 'Usmān-āda Aḥmad called **Tā'ib** *see* **Hādīqat al-**
mudāt
 Uways (d. 1374) 26, 28, 39
 Uzbeki *see* Bukhara; Herat; Sharybini Khān
 Uzūn Hasan (d. 1478) 63, 71
 Vail Jān, artist, worked in Iran and Turkey 107, 157
 Vāzge *see* **Gulshāh** 15, 35, 257, FIG 2
 Wallpaintings *see* **Pendjīkēnt**
 Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore *see* Index of MSS by
 Location
 Wāpāyī designs 225, 236, FIG 75
 — Tree 171, FIG 62
 Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine,
 London *see* Index of MSS by Location
 White Sheep Turkmen *see* **Aq Qusyūnū**
 William Rockhill Nelson Gallery, Kansas City *see*
 Index of MSS by Location
 Women of Egypt cutting their fingers 58, 257, FIG 23
 — — — with Yūsuf 182, PLATE 33
 — in a park 159, PLATE 30
 — old, and Sultan Sanjar 27, 30, 56, 254, PLATE 2,
 FIG 12
 Wrester of *Art and Nature* 147
 Wrester found by spinning-girl 38, 83, FIG 15
 Wrester defeating his young pupil 191, PLATE 34
 Yakār 'Alī sent as envoy to Turkey by 'Abbas I 133
 Yāqūb ibn Uzūn Hasan (d. 1478) 71
 Yār Muhammad (d. 1357), Bukhara patron 89
 Yāzid, patronage of book-production at 58, 61, FIG 28
 Yuan dynasty founded by Kublāy Khān 17
 — influence on Persian painting 41
 — vase, dragon design 41, FIG 17
 Yūsuf *see* **Zafarshāh** by Jāmī 92, 106, 257, PLATE 33,
 FIGS 23, 64
 — Sultanate MS of 50, 92, 182, 183, PLATE 33, FIG 64
 Yūsuf and Zafarshāh together 182, PLATE 33, FIGS 23,
 64
 Zafarshāh by Shams al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī 50, 58, 74, 76,
 78, 94, 207, 225, PLATE 41, FIG 34
 Zafarshāh *see* by Fāzīl Andarīnī 159, PLATE 30
 Zayn al-'Abīdīn, artist and calligrapher of Quzwā and
 Isfahān 106, 107, 108
 Zayn al-'Abīdīn (d. 1430) ruler of Kashmīr, patronage
 of 222
 Zehra sent by Jahāngīr to 'Abbas I 106, 207
 Zuhāk taken to Mt. Damavand 107, 252, PLATE 15
 — opposed by Kāva the smith 66, FIG 31
 Zafarshāh with Yūsuf 182, 257, PLATE 33, FIGS 23, 64